

A comparative sociological analysis of the redevelopment of two urban localities in the West Midlands (Merry Hill complex, Dudley and Broad Street development, Birmingham)

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Abstract

During the 1980s and 1990s, there were dramatic and significant changes in local economies of regions that had previously relied heavily on manufacturing and industry. Most notable in these changes were two distinct processes, firstly the decline of traditional economies and, secondly, the subsequent expansion of service sector economies in response.

Such changes heavily affected the West Midlands, with the steel industry, car manufacturing and associated trades experiencing significant contraction. In terms of service sector expansion, the two most important ventures were the redevelopment of Birmingham's Broad Street area and the construction of the Merry Hill shopping centre in Dudley Borough.

Analysed in terms of stability and crisis, the thesis examines how localities experienced economic decline and how service sector projects were formulated as a method of regeneration. Ostensibly, the thesis challenges arguments that the redevelopments have been a source of regeneration, arguing instead that their aim was to create stability within business and politics rather than benefit local communities.

The research uses a mixed methodology, featuring a theoretical overview as well as case studies to identify locally specific factors. The case studies utilise a diverse range of sources, though the primary data from interviews demonstrates how local actors retained a degree of autonomy; as well as illustrating the nature of local relations.

Analysing the case studies in light of theoretical issues concerning regimes of accumulation and modes of regulation, the redevelopments initially featured similarities in terms of declining traditional economies and service sector expansion. Subsequent political differences marked distinctions between the two sites, with similarities eventually returning as local political actors in Dudley Borough accepted the service sector's local importance.

The research makes an original contribution to knowledge by providing a detailed account of local events, analysis of local redevelopment strategies, and developing the temporal and spatial aspects of regulation theory and regime theory.

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Introduction

The central aims of this thesis are, firstly, to assess how, from the 1970s, the West Midlands experienced a series of social, political and economic changes associated with the decline of traditional manufacturing and industrial economies, and secondly, to examine the formation of responses. This research analyses these aims in relation to two urban redevelopment projects that, on the surface, seemed to typify a generic move from a reliance production and manufacturing economies to economies based increasingly on the service sector. By placing these aims within a local context, the research shows how since the 1980s, Birmingham and Dudley Borough (in the heart of the Black Country) have joined the ranks of cities and regions using service sector redevelopment as a method of urban regeneration following recession in their traditional industrial and manufacturing economies.

For many years Birmingham and Dudley Borough epitomised Britain's industrial landscapes - both in geographic and socio-economic terms. Problematically, regional reliance on these economies inextricably linked the fortunes of Birmingham and Dudley Borough to the fortunes of broader manufacturing and industrial economies both nationally and globally. As such, while this dependence brought relative prosperity up to the mid-1970s,

it also led to economic decline, unemployment and derelict wastelands when Britain's position as an industrial force diminished.

Against a background of recession and economic blight, two large-scale redevelopment projects emerged in the West Midlands, both using derelict land and both significantly expanding the local service sector. In Birmingham city centre, the Broad Street Redevelopment Area (BSRA) culminated in the development of a conference centre, hotels, clubs, select shops, and offices. In the centre of Dudley Borough, Merry Hill (unjustly deemed by the media to be out-of-town) has become the largest shopping centre in Britain and, developed in conjunction with The Waterfront, includes a complex of hotels, offices, bars, clubs and restaurants.

During an intense period of redevelopment starting from the mid-1980s, the West Midlands underwent significant political and socio-economic changes that illustrated the decline of stability and emergence of crisis within the regions. Whilst some of these changes, such as new leisure facilities and patterns of working have been the direct result of service sector redevelopments, it is perhaps more germane to argue that the redevelopments have illustrated local responses to broader global and national changes. In other words, the importance of studying these urban redevelopments lies in the way they illustrate local experiences of (and responses to) social, political and economic change.

Identifying the redevelopment process as a response to such changes means the thesis goes beyond analysing the individual redevelopments and new opportunities for leisure and retail by going on to analyse the importance of political-economic alliances, diverse influences, and the conflicts that determined the redevelopments' characters. Consequently, while the thesis identifies a variety of global, national and local factors within the redevelopments' backgrounds, it was the activities of local actors that determined the unique features of the redevelopments – thereby proving that despite a level of generalisability within the redevelopment process, there is also a degree of local variation. With this in mind, studying the redevelopment process is a method of studying how localities facing similar patterns of economic and political turmoil attempted to regain stability.

The sweeping nature of new political logic and rhetoric embodied within the redevelopment process was mirrored by the development of new alliances between public and private sector actors - though the thesis goes on to identify the exclusion of any formal community input. For those from local communities, political and business-dominated attempts to reinvent 'rustbelt' areas such as Birmingham and Dudley Borough alienated them; while redefined public spending priorities limited potential regeneration. Underpinning much of this, the redevelopment processes represented the conscious implementation of new forms of capital accumulation.

Overall, the redevelopments raise a series of sociological questions concerning how localities experienced and responded to extra-local phenomena; the way conflicts and alliances emerged between local actors; the nature of local stability and crisis; and how the redevelopments were a method of managing change and negotiating political and economic objectives.

Structure of the thesis

Chapters One and Two detail the theoretical context of the research through a review of current literature. Importantly, the role of theory is to provide a framework for analysing urban redevelopment in terms of political and socio-economic changes. Consequently, theory is a means to an end, rather than an end in its own right and, as such, this is a thesis about urban redevelopment that applies particular theories as tools of analysis, rather than a theoretical thesis that uses urban redevelopment as an illustration.

Identifying and examining the backgrounds to and reasons for redevelopment, Chapter One argues that specific global and national factors have been common to both redevelopments and, consequently, have underpinned similarities between the two sites. The chapter recognises specific global factors and analyses the way they influenced localities by arguing that global economic restructuring had distinct implications for

places such as Birmingham and Dudley Borough that were heavily reliant on traditional economies. Having examined global phenomena, especially those concerning economic changes, it is noted that local patterns of investment were forced to place a greater emphasis on the service sector in order to expand.

Following on from this, a study of national factors shows how national political restructuring during the 1980s influenced the activities of local actors by limiting the range of local responses to economic decline. Analysing areas such as the rise of neo-liberal ideologies and the enterprise culture, central government's use of urban policy and political rhetoric had specific implications for local redevelopment strategies. Ostensibly, this was characterised by increased power being transferred to the private sector within planning and local authorities becoming increasingly entrepreneurial. Despite originating within national politics, and notwithstanding conflicts between national and local governments, an awareness of national political changes illustrates a series of boundaries to the activities of local political actors.

Overall, Chapter One explores regulation theory, which, developing the classical base-superstructure model, theorises temporal economic relations as a regime of accumulation and associated political relations as a mode of regulation. Particularly suited to this thesis, it enables distinct theorisations

of both economic and political elements of the redevelopment process while still being aware of their dialectical unity within political economy.

Having argued that global and national events underpinned common ground between the redevelopments, Chapter Two examines those local factors that influenced differences between the two redevelopments. Specifically, Chapter Two examines the nature of local governance, defined by Painter and Goodwin (1996: 636) as a broad alliance of public and private sector structures. Locating such debates within the context of regulation theory examined in the previous chapter, local governance forms a site of social regulation by virtue of supporting specific regimes of accumulation.

While local governance defines a generic local structure evident within both regions, it is further theorised as occurring within specific governance regimes that help identify local variations. Whilst the central framework is based around regulation theory, regime theory is a useful tool because its flexibility allows analysis of local governance not just in terms of who is involved, but also in terms of the way objectives were developed against a background of particular configurations of local social regulation. Chapter Two therefore forms a basis to understand local responses to global and national phenomena, as well as highlighting the nature of local structural relations.

Having examined theoretical debates and ‘extra-local’ events as a context for redevelopment strategies, Chapter Three examines methodological issues relating to the analysis of redevelopment and outlines how such issues form a coherent body of research. Following the identification of substantive issues in the previous chapters, there is recognition of how these issues relate to local redevelopment strategies. The subsequent formation of research objectives focuses the research on specific issues and develops the initial aims of the research. These research objectives are:

- i. To examine how global economic factors manifested in the decline of local traditional economies and formed a catalyst to redevelopment;
- ii. To assess how global and national factors underpinned common ground between the redevelopments, whilst locally specific factors shaped differences;
- iii. To investigate the relative importance of the omission of community interests from local governance;
- iv. To gauge the extent to which, following a period of crisis in traditional economies, the redevelopment process was an attempt to regain stability.

Overall, a mixture of primary and secondary sources have been used to analyse structures such as local governance regimes as well as the role of agents such as important local business actors and planners. With this in mind, the range of methods includes review of council policies, examination

of business activities, and in-depth interviews with forty key actors. The data is then used to construct two comprehensive case studies.

Chapter Three also examines the relationship between the theoretical debates raised in Chapters One and Two and the collection of empirical data. Informed by Layder's (1998) analysis of adaptive theory, the chapter outlines how the construction of both the theory chapters and the case studies featured a dynamic relationship, rather than one determining the content of the other. Importantly, this challenges the weaknesses of both grounded theory and theory-led research.

Chapters Four and Five are case studies of the BSRA and Merry Hill respectively. Both case studies develop chronological accounts of the redevelopment process, looking firstly at the backgrounds, secondly at local experiences of crisis, thirdly at the emergence of redevelopment strategies, and finally at the local impact of such strategies. Despite a range of similarities, chiefly concerning the demise of traditional economies and expansion of the service sector, the case studies also demonstrate a significant range of differences concerning local alliances, local integration, and local attitudes.

Focusing on the redevelopment process, the case studies show that despite the initial influence of common factors outlined in Chapter One, both cases responded differently. Notably, the BSRA case study highlights a

consensual relationship between public and private sector actors and the influence of a previous successful service sector project. In contrast, the Merry Hill case study catalogues a series of conflicts between local property developers the Richardson brothers and Dudley Metropolitan Borough Council (MBC).

Importantly, the case studies provide a body of evidence from which to analyse the research objectives developed in Chapter Three, as well as forming a basis to identify similarities and differences between the two sites.

Chapter Six draws together the various strands of the research into a single analysis. Returning to the original aims, the chapter explicitly addresses the research objectives, compares and contrasts the redevelopments, and generalises the findings to theoretical debates raised in Chapters One and Two.

Finally, Chapter Seven summarises the main conclusions of the research, identifies how the research contributes to knowledge and highlights potential areas of further research.

Chapter One

Theorising global and national themes

1.1, Introduction

The central argument of this thesis is that factors common to both redevelopments had their roots within global and national issues, whilst differences were determined by local strategies, histories and relations. Initially, this raises the question of what these common ground factors might be and how they affect localities.

Addressing this question, Chapter One theorises the redevelopment process within a context of economic and political changes surrounding the decline of traditional regional economies from the 1970s and throughout the 1980s and 1990s. Analysing these events in the context of regulation theory illustrates capitalism's development through distinct periods of stability and crisis – as well as exploring the duality of politics and economy. Particularly relevant to the study of urban redevelopment, this accounts for decline in the previously stable traditional economies and subsequent attempts to develop new forms of economic activity.

Identifying regulation theory's relevance to the study of redevelopment, the

first part of this chapter examines specific periods of capitalist development in a way that covers local experiences. Accordingly, debates concerning Fordism and post-Fordism are used to characterise periods of capitalist development into particular spatial and temporal configurations of economic and socio-political relations.

After addressing theoretical concerns, questions remain concerning the backgrounds and character of these changes. While it is essential to understand these changes in a theoretically generalisable manner, it is also important to identify their specific nature. Consequently, the chapter develops by examining those global economic and national political changes that formed a common background to the redevelopments studied.

1.1.1, A note on time and space: The importance of temporal and spatial divisions within the thesis

Overall, the thesis is an examination of political, social and economic changes, understood in the context of urban redevelopment. Central to the examination of such events has been a temporal and spatial analysis of events. Mapping out this temporal aspect, there is awareness of how local economies have developed through periods of stability and crisis, marked most notably by the similar chronologies of Birmingham and Dudley

Borough.

Furthermore, there is a spatial awareness of events, though the concept of spatiality is less clearly defined than chronological periods. As such, an initial question for this research was how to construct spatial categories that are both workable within the research as well as accurately portraying events. It is obvious (and somewhat problematic) that spaces are not clearly demarcated into convenient groups; categories such as housing estates, localities, sub-regions, regions, The Midlands, national, supra-national/Europe, global, etc. all identify a range of both discrete and overlapping realms. However, important for this thesis is to locate the study of urban redevelopment within a format that recognises spatial variations by defining these variations in terms of structures central to the thesis. Consequently, the spaces used in this thesis are global, national and local.

Firstly, local covers the scope of influence of local political actors such as Birmingham City Council and Dudley Metropolitan Borough Council. Furthermore, in relation to a study of *urban* redevelopment, it also covers a geographical area with a high density of population, many of whom are linked by shared facilities such as public transport, shopping centres, accessible employment opportunities, as well as shared (though often complex) feelings of local attachment.

Secondly, national covers the realm of influence of central government.

This is important because central government has played an important role in formulating urban policies (such as Enterprise Zones), shaping local authority activities (such as rate capping), as well as being at the forefront of spreading new political ideologies throughout the 1980s and 1990s. Significantly, this has not only shaped how local authorities approach the issue of regeneration, but has also set boundaries for what is possible.

Thirdly, the last level is global and refers to events occurring beyond the control of a single nation and often affecting a range of nations. Importantly, global does not necessarily mean the whole of the 'globe'; while it *can* refer to genuinely global events, it also highlights events happening in certain places such as 'the West' or Europe.

Mediation between these spatial levels is diverse and complex - an issue illustrated by this research – based on a balance between relative autonomy and over-determination. Whilst covering a varied synthesis of economic and political forces, much of the evidence shows global influences to be particularly economically oriented, while national events are seen as being shaped by political responses to economic change. Localities are influenced by both of the above and feature a balance of both economic and political factors. Consequently, a key objective of this research is to show how economic and political considerations are influenced by one another.

Mediation between these levels is subsequently shown sometimes to be

direct, though at other times more indirect. Evidence of direct mediation comes from global economic change undermining local economies or from central government's imposition of urban policies. Indirect mediation is evident in the presence of the politically led spirit of an enterprise culture.

Chapter One therefore examines issues pertinent to studying global and national issues, whilst Chapter Two highlights issues more directly relevant to the analysis of local events.

1.2, Theoretical overview

The starting point for this chapter is to identify what links the two redevelopments. Arguing that the redevelopments were not geographically or economically isolated entities - despite some locally specific factors - global economic and national political changes formed a common environment within which the redevelopments occurred. With this in mind, this first section uses regulation theory to construct a useful framework for studying urban redevelopment.

Social and economic changes since the mid-1970s have given rise to a plethora of sociological theories seeking to explain why changes happened, what the outcomes have been, and assess subsequent social implications. Amidst this mass of seemingly competing explanations, regulation theory

analyses political economy in a way that allows awareness of political changes and economic changes in relative autonomy, whilst still stressing their mutual dependence and synthesis. Popularised during the 1980s and 1990s within geography, politics, economics and sociology, regulation theory has faced a degree of criticism since the mid-1990s as well as increasingly facing challenges from agential analyses of culture and consumption. Despite this, it remains a useful tool to analyse the political economy of redevelopment.

From a sympathetic, though critical, perspective, Friedman (2000) argues that regulation theory was initially too simplistic in its analysis of stability and failed to account for the role of agency. Despite supporting the basic tenets of regulation theory, he proposes that future usage needs to be aware of “‘third generation” regulation theories [that] have viewed regulation as a dynamic process and emphasise the state, political factors and the role of space’ (2000: 62). This constructive critique of regulation theory is addressed within this research by accepting modes of regulation as dynamic phenomena such as local governance, acknowledging the relative autonomy of political actors in the case studies, and examining the power of specific actors within localities.

Mavroudeas (1999: 334) typifies less sympathetic contemporary critiques of regulation theory, arguing that it lacks coherent theories of the state and fails to recognise the causes of crisis. This, however, overlooks the flexibility of

regulation to theorise national government (Aglietta, 1979), local government/state (Goodwin and Painter, 1996; Painter, 1995), supra-governance (Brenner, 1999a) and explicit analyses of the state (O'Toole, 1996; Jessop, 1990). Furthermore, it ignores the work of some regulation theorists to define crisis in terms of hegemony (Esser and Hirsch, 1989). The diversity of spatial analyses further provides a theoretical flexibility suited to the dynamics of global, national and local forces at play within the redevelopment process. As such, Mavroudeas's (1999: 320) critique of regulation theory as being too 'middle-range' and 'simply something between the abstract and the concrete' overlooks the benefits of such a position due to its ability to study real life events within a theoretical framework.

Examining other theorisations of change, an eclectic collection of theories has emerged to account for different features of change - social, economic, political and cultural. Problematically for a study of urban redevelopment, none of them provide a holistic account of the diverse influences behind redevelopment strategies or the varied impacts they have had on localities. Typifying contemporary debates, Westwood and Williams (1997) identify an increase in agential theories that study urban experiences and reject generalisations around class or structural analyses of power. Inspired by the seemingly increased diversity of consumption provided by service sector redevelopments, they look ostensibly at people's usage of such centres, rather than analysing the origins of change or questioning who is excluded

from new arenas of consumption. Likewise, analyses of culture have distracted attention from the causes of crisis and formulation of local responses. This is especially evident in cultural geography studies (Hall, 1997a; 1994) and classic theorisations such as Lash and Urry's 'disorganised capitalism' thesis that focus on the cultural impact of change, though still identifying the heterogeneous roots of change.

Clearly, there have been distinct cultural changes in Birmingham and Dudley Borough since the decline of industry; however, cultural analyses alone fail to identify redevelopment strategies as being a response to economic decline in the way that regulation theory is capable. Even those theories similar to regulation theory by virtue of recognising the importance of Fordist/post-Fordist debates often only look at specific issues such as flexible specialisation or the impact of new technology (Hirst and Zeitlin, 1991; Marshall, 1999; Heidenreich, 1996; Phillmore, 1989). Despite providing useful insights into changes in work and the organisation of production, they fail to go beyond studying one specific aspect of the redevelopments, ostensibly, the changes in working patterns they enable.

In the face of competing theorisations and direct criticisms, there still remains a healthy volume of regulationist studies examining issues such as urban redevelopment, welfare, and local governance. Pinpointing the appeal of regulation theory for studying urban redevelopment, Painter identifies three essential themes:

‘First, it presents an account of the changing character of capitalist economies and of the role of cities within them. It thus provides a context against which to discuss urban political change. Second, it examines the connections and interrelations between social, political, economic and cultural change. This potentially avoids some of the problems encountered by those theories that focus on one aspect of the political whole (such as elections, leadership or bureaucracy). Third, it tries to avoid a rather different set of difficulties associated with some versions of orthodox Marxism, which accord only a secondary role to political processes. For regulation theory, economic change depends upon, and is partly the product of, changes in politics, culture and social life.’ (1995: 276)

Despite these strengths, and regulation theory’s potential for being ‘sensitive to institutional variability at a more fine-grained level’ (Peck, 1996: 96-7), it remains an underused framework for studying redevelopments as local responses to global and national changes.

1.2.1, Regulation theory

Following global capitalist crisis during the 1970s, regulation theory began with a group of French economists attempting to account for capitalism’s route through periods of stability and crisis (Aglietta, 1979). Importantly for this research, regulation theory’s analysis of emergent crisis and strategies for restabilisation within advanced capitalist economies forms an important context for redevelopment processes that are both responsive to crisis and central to stability. Appearing to emanate from a classical Marxist base-

superstructure model, the theory envisages capitalist stability originating from the complementary nature of, firstly, economic accumulation and, secondly, social regulation. Hence, the theory identifies regimes of accumulation and modes of regulation. This section therefore defines both concepts and explores their usefulness to the study of urban redevelopment in what might be termed 'post-industrial' urban localities.

Some of the most notable similarities between the two redevelopments concerned the agendas of economic actors and political actors regarding aims, objectives, and methods of operation. Identifying an initial temporal distinction between the activities of these economic and political actors, it is notable that local experiences of economic decline began in the second half of the 1970s and escalated throughout the early 1980s. However, political responses to economic decline emerged in the early 1980s and gathered pace throughout that decade. Underpinning such political changes was a belief that crisis went beyond the workings of the market to also include political configurations of local and central government.

Further demarcating political and economic realms in terms of spatial factors is the fact that while economic decline originated from global events (examined further in section 1.3.1), political reaction has occurred mainly on national and local levels (examined further in section 1.3.2). This suggests that economic and political changes can be analysed independently of one another in terms of time-scales and origins, while still being aware of the

influence each holds the other.

Placing this in the context of the redevelopments, economic decline became evident in late 1970s as traditional patterns of production contracted and unemployment rose. However, redevelopment as a tool to enable new forms of production (notably within the service sector) did not materialise until the 1980s when the Black Country entrepreneurs the Richardson brothers bought Enterprise Zone land from 1983 and the BSRA was created by the City Council in 1984.

Similarly, global economic factors underpinned local experiences of economic decline, while in contrast, political responses such as urban policies and political ideologies such as entrepreneurialism defined boundaries to local strategies. The important question is, therefore, how to theorise this duality of politics and economy.

Using regulation theory to understand cycles of economic activity such as industry and the service sector, Painter identifies specific regimes of accumulation, which he defines as ‘the economic relationship between investment, production and consumption’ (1995: 277). Importantly for this study of the BSRA and Merry Hill, analyses of accumulation go beyond descriptive accounts of consumption by contextualising the redevelopments within specific forces of production; underpinning an argument that the redevelopments were products of ‘extra-local’ factors, i.e. global and

national factors. Clearly, both redevelopments exemplified significant changes in regional consumption; however, Painter's work goes further than analyses of lifestyle and culture by also identifying how economic relations underpinned such changes. Without this theoretical overview of both production *and* consumption, there is tendency to study the most immediately noticeable features of these redevelopments - consumption. Consequently, the redevelopments have been important not because of the changes in local patterns of consumption they facilitate, but because of the way they have represented specific responses to changes in production.

Supplementing Painter's definition of a regime of accumulation, Jessop refers to 'a particular combination of production and consumption which can be reproduced over time despite conflictual tendencies' (1990: 308). Highlighting the centrality of accumulation within periods of stability, he emphasises an enduring balance between production and consumption rather than a state of constant flux. Relating this to the study of urban redevelopment, the BSRA's and Merry Hill's continued expansion since their inceptions in the 1980s has both enabled and entrenched new forms of accumulation that can underpin a new period of stability. Their commercial success and popularity therefore highlights not just demands for new patterns of consumption, but the viability of new relations of production.

A requirement of commercial success was that the redevelopments would be economically viable, rather than just supporting new patterns of

consumption and lifestyle. Esser and Hirsch's definition of a regime of accumulation supports this by focusing on the economic prerequisites of production rather than new forms of consumption that are the outcome of production. These prerequisites define a regime of accumulation as 'a form of surplus value production and realization, supported by particular types of production and management technologies. It includes the type and method of organizing production and labour and the national economic reproduction of labour power and capital' (1989: 419). Although Esser and Hirsch identify a national regime of accumulation, the concept is easily transposed to a local setting to account for local production.

Drawing on Esser and Hirsch's definition, a variety of factors illustrate the nature of capital accumulation and thereby identify similarities between the BSRA and Merry Hill.

Firstly, a major similarity is that following decline in the West Midlands' traditional industrial and manufacturing economies, service sector expansion became an increasingly viable commercial option. The subsequent financial success of the two redevelopments has resulted in their physical expansion and enduring economic influence.

Secondly, similarities can be recognised in the relationship between capital and labour. Increased levels of investment in construction have characterised a new regime of accumulation, as well as an increased

flexibility in labour relations. Substantive issues of this kind form the basis for the case studies, which examine evidence supporting the argument that the BSRA and Merry Hill were significant in terms of their influence over the balance of local capital accumulation.

Returning therefore to the initial question of how sociological theory accounts for the duality of politics and economy, this chapter has defined a regime of accumulation, which recognises an economic dimension to redevelopment strategies based on investment and surplus value. The next stage is to identify a political aspect to the redevelopment process.

A mode of regulation characterises political configurations, akin to a Marxist superstructure, with Amin defining the mode of regulation as being ‘institution ensemble (laws, agreements, etc.)¹ and the complex cultural habits and norms which secures capitalist reproduction... It therefore refers to institutions and conventions which regulate and produce a given accumulation regime through applications across a wide range of areas, including the law, state policy, political practices, industrial codes, governance philosophies, rules of negotiations and bargaining, cultures of consumption and social expectations’ (1994: 8). An essential theoretical element in understanding the redevelopments at Broad Street and Merry Hill, the mode of regulation not only accounts for the integral role of political actors, but in doing so refutes economic determinism in the

redevelopment process.

Consequently, identifying a mode of regulation illustrates a dialectical relationship between socio-political relations and economic objectives; meaning that economic factors alone have not determined redevelopment strategies, but have done so in conjunction with political objectives and social regulation. It is essential for the theoretical context to reflect this in order to account for the evidence of local and central government's significant influence over the redevelopment process. As such, the BSRA and Merry Hill did not come into being just because of changes in regimes of accumulation; whilst the economy might have been a catalyst or initial reason for seeking new patterns of accumulation, the redevelopment process was also influenced by political objectives and boundaries. Evidence of this is shown in the case studies as the influential roles of Birmingham City Council, Enterprise Zones, and public sector/European Union grants, thus demonstrating that in addition to the economic aspect of redevelopment, there existed a political determinant.

Significantly, the dichotomous nature of regulation theory distinguishes different roles for different actors, with the regime of accumulation theorising investment and surplus value and the mode of regulation accounting for politics. Traditionally, the private sector carried out investment with the motivation being surplus value production, while the

¹ Author's own brackets

more overtly political nature of the mode of regulation placed it within the boundaries of national and local government. However, the redevelopments illustrated new configurations of accumulation and regulation occurring within increasingly blurred boundaries. Looking at the background to this trend, the emergence of neo-liberal national governments from 1979 and increasingly entrepreneurial local authorities underpinned and encouraged new alliances between commerce and politics. Defining neo-liberalism in a way that relates to both post-1979 politics and the redevelopment process, Amin and Malmberg identify characteristics such as 'free trade, tight monetary control, stringency in public-sector borrowing, reduced subsidisation of industry by the state, [and] the removal of restrictions on corporate behaviour' (1994: 244-5).

In relation to the BSRA and Merry Hill, the BSRA illustrates the way in which politics and the economy operated in unison on a local stage. By examining large-scale investment in the construction of Merry Hill during the 1980s and 1990s, an expanding service sector economy, and new patterns of employment it is possible to recognise the emergence of a new regime of accumulation. However, despite changes in the local economy, Dudley MBC refused to support this new regime of accumulation. Clearly, it was therefore possible for economic and political actors to operate different agendas.

A further dimension to this example is that central government, through

grants and Enterprise Zones, encouraged new forms of investment and economic activity within what has been termed an enterprise culture (an issue examined further in section 1.3.2). As well as mapping out conflict between the developers of Merry Hill and the local authority, this also identifies conflict between the local authority and central government. As both of these are political structures involved in social regulation rather than directly involved in commercial activities, it is possible to place this conflict within the mode of regulation, thereby showing that regulation occurred at both local and national levels.

In contrast to Dudley MBC, Birmingham City Council actively encouraged and supported new forms of capital accumulation by investing public money in construction as well as developing partnerships with the private sector. Examined in more detail in the case study in Chapter Four, this characterises how Birmingham City Council helped create a specific local mode of regulation.

Overall, while it is useful to theorise distinct entities of accumulation and regulation, it is wrong to isolate them from one another. While retaining some degree of autonomy from one another in terms of actors' objectives and time-scales, they are related by virtue of stability being underpinned by their complementarity. Developing this point, studying the BSRA and Merry Hill indicates similarities between the two sites in terms of time-scales, leading to the question of how accumulation and regulation can be

located within a temporal analysis of stability and crisis.

As stated, the BSRA and Merry Hill were similar in terms of their time-scales. However, this similarity predated the actual redevelopments by including contradictions inherent in the previous industrial/manufacturing regime of accumulation. The case studies highlight that both regions experienced prosperity and economic success from the nineteenth century onwards, with companies such as Round Oak steelworks and Birmingham's motor industry fuelling buoyant local economies in the post-war years. However, economic decline, job losses and decaying local infrastructure from the 1970s points to the influence of economic factors that were common to both regions and, arguably, global in origin. Continuing this similarity, the BSRA and Merry Hill enabled service sector expansion from the early 1980s, experiencing notable financial success during that decade and continued expansion throughout the 1990s.

Locating this within a 'periodised' capitalist development of stability interspersed with crisis (Jessop, 1990), recognisable periods of stability in Birmingham and Dudley Borough extended until the mid-1970s, followed by crisis as regional economies contracted and local authorities failed to produce strategies for restabilisation. Although difficult to put an exact date on when this lasted until, by the late-1980s and early-1990s a new period of stability was beginning to emerge, underpinned by a new regime of accumulation and complementary regulation.

Relating stability and crisis to accumulation and regulation, crisis began with (though was not solely defined by) economic challenges to existing, long-term methods of surplus-value creation (Hirsch, 1978; Harvey, 1982). The reasons for such challenges to capital accumulation were global in origin (as demonstrated subsequently in section 1.3.1). In terms of the background to the BSRA and Merry Hill, the research illustrates that industry and manufacturing became less profitable and the old regime of accumulation began to decline.

However, it is necessary at this point to examine the time gap between changes in accumulation and changes in regulation. Changes in the regime of accumulation began in the mid-1970s, with the case studies showing that private sector demands for new forms of investment took form in the early-1980s. Despite this, changes in social regulation did not emerge until the late-1970s, with urban policies becoming more influential from the early-1980s and local authority redevelopment strategies taking shape in the mid-1980s.

Despite separate timetables, it is important to map out how regulation and accumulation relate to one another. Evidence from the case studies shows that Dudley MBC did not support the expansion of the local service sector in the Enterprise Zones, believing instead that the land should be used for industry. In this position, there existed a conflict between the local regime

of accumulation and the local mode of regulation. Consequently, although Merry Hill originally developed in the Enterprise Zones, it was subsequently unable to expand to the extent its owners demanded. The implication of this was that the local regime of accumulation was unable to develop until complemented by the local mode of regulation. The presence of conflict between economic and political objectives was an essential feature of the dialectical process and was especially evident in the redevelopment process. Chapter Two develops this issue by examining how local governance acted as a structure to mediate and manage conflict.

As new patterns of local capital accumulation emerged, the existing mode of regulation became a fetter on the economy and prevented change. Arguably, the Conservative governments from 1979, which sought to make the labour and monetary markets less rigid, identified this constraint (Deakin and Edwards, 1993). Using regulation theory, political relations are analysed without recourse to economic determinism, while still affording the economy a central place in the process of change. The economy was clearly important and acted as a catalyst for change; however, it could not effect a new period of stability without complementary socio-political relations. Therefore, the complementary union of the economy and the socio-political relations determined stability.

With stability being the result of a balance between accumulation and regulation, the complementary nature of accumulation and regulation during

the post-war years underpinned a specific period of stability. Esser and Hirsch (1989) support this characterisation by defining stability as a 'hegemonic structure' of accumulation and regulation. By definition therefore, crisis occurs when regimes of accumulation begin to falter, disrupting the continuity of stability, while a new complementarity of accumulation and regulation has yet to be established. Hence, the development of new patterns of capital accumulation alone does not lead to stability, with a complementary mode of regulation necessary to achieve long-term stability.

Relating this to the redevelopments, it demonstrates that the active and supportive role of politics was essential to regain a local stability. In the case of the BSRA, this shows how the development of a new local regime of accumulation was a first-step in establishing a new stability, though subsequent political support was also essential. In contrast, Merry Hill had the same starting point of establishing a new local regime of accumulation through the service sector, with central government political objectives encouraging new local regimes of accumulation through bypassing local authority planning controls. Despite this, it was not until the early 1990s that Dudley MBC began to support the construction of a new local mode of regulation. Since that time, Merry Hill has expanded, integrated with local facilities and continued to benefit from increased transport links - it was at this point that stability began to be realised locally.

In summary, this section has addressed two issues; firstly, the distinction between the economy and politics, and secondly, how this relates to stability and crisis. Relating this to the study of urban redevelopment at Broad Street and Merry Hill, accumulation and regulation identified distinct economic trends as well as political activities, locating the redevelopments in a periodised analysis of stability-crisis-stability.

1.2.2, Fordism and beyond

This chapter has so far developed by examining theorisations of capital accumulation and social regulation as twin components in understanding the periodised development of capitalism. Locating the redevelopments in this context, this section argues that they bridge the gap between crisis and emerging stability by illustrating both local responses to crisis as well as potential means of regaining stability. Forming an important feature in the study of the redevelopments, this identifies both a background and a reason for the redevelopment process.

With the case studies arguing that urban redevelopment is one particular strategy to regain stability (albeit local stability), it is possible to distinguish two distinct and dynamic periods of capitalist development. Firstly, stability and the emergence of crisis, and secondly, a process of moving from crisis to a new stability. An important aspect of the thesis, these two periods

stress the dynamic nature of regulation theory rather than just studying discrete periods from one another. Contextualising these two periods in debates around Fordism and post-Fordism, it is possible to characterise them in applied terms rather than just theorising relations between accumulation and regulation. While Fordism certainly contains ‘ambiguities and contradictions’ (Peck, 1996: 193), it remains a useful concept in defining specific periods of capitalist production, and adds social relations to economic and political theorisations. Despite being such a useful concept, it is important not to over-state the pervasive nature of Fordist tendencies, with the thesis cautious not to create a ‘binary opposition’ between Fordism and post-Fordism (Amin, 1994; Sayer, 1989). Lying behind this caution is the realisation that both regions always had, and still have, a mixed economy of manufacturing and service sector; with Broad Street being a retail area as far back as the nineteenth century. Consequently, it is important not to polarise or over-state the characteristics of Fordism nor post-Fordism (Williams, Haslam and Williams, 1992; Sayer, 1989).

Instead, the economies of both regions featured a balance of manufacturing and service sectors, with this balance increasingly shifting towards the service sector as manufacturing declined and the redevelopments enabled service sector expansion. Therefore, the thesis illustrates two distinct socio-economic processes, firstly, Fordism and the emergence of crisis and secondly, crisis and the regaining of stability. Of pivotal concern for this thesis is not, therefore, to identify a dramatic break between Fordism and

post-Fordism, but to analyse how the balance between the two economies shifted over time. The question arises, therefore, of how it is possible to locate periods of capitalist development within a framework that accounts for general social relations of production *and* consumption.

The starting point in addressing this question is to examine why Fordism is a social phenomenon, rather than just a descriptive account of working conditions. Initially, it is accurate to identify Fordism as a process of production characterised by mechanisation, mass production, and a structured labour market, with Fordism being akin to scientific management on a mass scale (Sayer and Walker, 1992; Deem and Salaman, 1985). On the surface, this certainly refers to the manufacturing and industrial sector of Birmingham and Dudley Borough, though such a narrow definition fails to account for the true impact and extent of Fordism for two reasons.

Firstly, definitions constrained by analyses of production only identify Fordism in terms of ‘the beginning and the end of the regime of accumulation, obscuring all other determinants’ (Boyer, 1990: xii, xiii) because of a focus on investment and labour. Whilst being functionally accurate, this falls short of analysing the social consequences of large, regulated labour markets in places such as Birmingham and Dudley Borough. Populations in both these places expanded in response to local industry and manufacturing, developing a mass of social networks and political structures that highlight the importance of being aware of social

regulation when examining Fordism. Emerging social networks relied on work, and whilst such networks included social clubs, unions and established town/city centres, they were ultimately dependant on buoyant economies. Evident through the decline of town centres as local economies contracted from the mid-1970s onwards; this is a significant issue in the study of urban redevelopment.

Secondly, narrow workplace-based definitions of Fordism only look at the organisation of production rather than balancing this with the demand for produced goods or the political regulation of production. Therefore, Fordism is illustrative of social relations as well as working conditions, thereby mapping out a broad theorisation of how economic and social life are connected (Amin, 1994; Kumar, 1995; Slater, 1997).

On this basis, Harvey importantly states that Fordism is 'less a mere system of mass production and more a total way of life' (1990: 135). Esser and Hirsch support this point by defining Fordism as 'the way in which the elements of this complex relationship between production and reproduction are related to each other socially, i.e. based on the behaviour of the social participants' (1989: 419).

Moving beyond debates around working practices and flexible specialisation (Vallas, 1999; Hirst and Zeitlin, 1991) in order to consider a wider definition, Fordism represents a specific period of capitalist development;

specifically the consolidation of stability before the emergence of crisis. This means not just issues around flexible accumulation, but an aggregate of social relations, cultures and political activity that form a mode of regulation. Illustrating a range of economic, political and social structures, these features are mutually dependent on one another in achieving a period of stability. Jessop, who also develops definitions of Fordism and post-Fordism to include issues of political and economic stability (1995), develops such ideas by locating them within a spatial framework (1990b) that enables the concept to be used in local studies, thereby challenging many pitfalls of Fordist/post-Fordist debates stemming from national generalisations resulting in the problematic 'binary opposition'. Identifying a period of stability based on a long-term balance between accumulation and regulation described as a hegemonic structure, this develops the definition of stability beyond economic activity by emphasising the importance of social regulation as a component of stability.

Consequently, a clear starting point in relating post-Fordism to the redevelopment process is the breakdown of a hegemonic structure associated with previous periods of stability. Placing this into a time-scale applicable to the localities studied in this thesis, the decline of traditional economies began in the mid-1970s, peaked in the early 1980s, and continued throughout that decade. The breakdown of the hegemonic structure, of which crisis is the result, hence began with these changes to the regime of accumulation.

A fundamental starting point for the definition of post-Fordism, this involves two distinct processes; firstly the restructuring of accumulation, and secondly, the restructuring of regulation. Highlighted in the previous section, the potential for different time-scales in the restructuring of accumulation and regulation illustrated a notable distinction. Relating this to the study of redevelopment at Broad Street and Merry Hill, both occurred in a period after the demise of Fordism and were responsive to a decline in the local regime of accumulation. From this position, it is fair to describe the redevelopments as being post-Fordist.

Within this context, it is possible to identify a range of determining factors; primarily, a diversity of product, matched by a diversity of consumption, which has replaced mass production techniques. Additionally, changes in technology underpinned new patterns of flexible specialisation and new working practices, characterised by a variety of employment contracts. Problematically, the term 'flexible' tends to reflect the demands of employers rather than the needs of employees, with evidence of an increase in the use of temporary contracts, increased levels of part-time work, and gender changes in the labour market showing increasing employment flexibility. For example, in 1987, temporary contracts accounted for around 6% of all work in Birmingham. By 1993, following significant expansion of the service sector, this figure reached 19% (BEIC, undated/b). In addition to increases in temporary contracts, there has been a rise in part-time work,

coupled with more women entering the labour market (Regional Trends, 1995: 75).

Most studies of flexible specialisation and new working practices have focused on manufacturing, such as Silicon Valley and the Third Italy (*La Terza Italia*), however, the service sector is also a site of production lying at the centre of post-Fordism. As such, global economic restructuring challenges the balance between production and consumption characterised by Fordism, leading to debates that we have entered a post-Fordist period, based on new balances between production and consumption (Goodwin and Painter, 1996, Hall and Jaques, 1989, Judge et al, 1995).

Acknowledging Fordism as a balance between production and consumption, a notable feature is its stability. For most of the post-war period there was a stable balance characterised by Boyer (1990) as 'thirty glorious years'. The social and political implications of Fordism meant that stability, overall, permeated social life. It is, however, harder to assert that the new patterns of accumulation and regulation indicative within the redevelopment process have led to such stability at this time, though there are signs of an emerging stability. From this definition, it is possible to develop the analysis of this thesis in two ways. Firstly, specific periods of stability were identifiable through the long-term presence of complementary capital accumulation and social regulation. Secondly, this meant stability was not just an economic phenomenon, but also incorporated distinct socio-political factors.

Raising the question of whether the redevelopments could possibly be both post-Fordist *and* a basis for local stability, this section continues by arguing it is problematic to define post-Fordism as a fixed set of relations and, therefore, attempting to link it exclusively to experiences of crisis. Hence, this chapter argues that post-Fordism is a dynamic process over a period of time that began with crises in Fordism and went on to include a consequential set of responses in accumulation and regulation that aimed to regain stability. Reasserting the central point of using regulation theory in this research, it is not just the emergence of crisis that is interesting sociologically, but also the ability of capitalism to restabilise and survive crises. Forming a main feature of redevelopment strategies is the fact they were initiated by crisis with an aim of stability. An understanding of post-Fordism needs to reflect this dynamism and process of restabilisation after crisis.

Despite this, Esser and Hirsch argue that ‘there can hardly be any talk of a restabilised “post-Fordist” capitalism’ (1989: 421), thereby inferring that post-Fordism and crisis are synonymous. Tickell and Peck (1995) are similarly wary of defining post-Fordism as anything other than a period of crisis, based primarily on limited economic growth and continued global economic instability. Despite the persuasiveness of such claims, this thesis identifies an emerging stability through service sector entrenchment and expansion following the contraction of Fordist aspects of the economy.

Furthermore, economic variations between regions means that generalisations such as there being limited economic growth after Fordism are dubious, with places such as the BSRA and Merry Hill underpinning relative economic growth compared to contracting traditional economies. The fact that the redevelopments' sustainability has been demonstrated (Tickell and Peck, 1995: 365) highlights how regional economies can be broadly post-Fordist as well as increasingly stable. This begins to define post-Fordism as a *process* (of crisis and regaining stability) rather than a *position* (of crisis after the decline of Fordism).

Problematically, Esser and Hirsch as well as Tickell and Peck fail to acknowledge the potential for a new hegemonic structure in the wake of Fordism. Considering this newly emerging hegemonic structure, it is misleading to discount the importance of the service sector and associated political strategies solely because they do not imitate 'global Fordism of the 1950s and 1960s' (Esser and Hirsch, 1989: 421).

Instead, a feature of stability in the post-Fordist era is the development of localised strategies, such as new patterns of local governance examined in Chapter Two and, of course, urban redevelopment strategies. Hence, it is possible to have local hegemonic structures, with these implicated in the expansion of the service sector and the necessary redevelopments. Relating this to the thesis, new and complementary patterns of accumulation and regulation became increasingly established and sustainable due to the

success of the BSRA and Merry Hill. This hegemonic structure was, therefore, both stable and post-Fordist.

Consequently, it is wrong to argue that post-Fordism and stability are mutually exclusive just because post-Fordist (or even 'after-Fordist') economies have failed to reproduce socio-economic relations similar to the previous stability of global Fordism. Therefore, by moving away from definitions of post-Fordism that make it synonymous with crisis, post-Fordism can be seen to define not only the breakdown of a Fordist hegemonic structure, but also subsequent attempts to regain and sustain stability. Continuing this debate, Peck and Tickell (1994: 280) raise the concept of 'after-Fordism', implying a lack of stability between production and consumption largely borne out by the inability of the redevelopments to replace levels of prosperity associated with manufacturing.

Despite highlighting the evident frailties of service sector based regeneration, there are clear problematic themes. Firstly, the local nature of redevelopment, both in terms of planning and economic impact, increasingly defines stability in local terms, rather than in its previous context of global Fordism. Defining 'after-Fordism', Peck and Tickell (1994) believe that the localised nature of response to crisis, exemplified by redevelopment strategies, has led to increased levels of inter-urban competition. Undoubtedly true, this is evident in the increased levels of place marketing associated with the redevelopment process (examined further in section

2.5.4 and illustrated in the case studies). However, while this led to a concentration of resources that creates regional winners and losers, it is misleading to believe it could not produce stability, albeit in localised pockets determined by which regions are first to formulate successful restabilisation strategies. Certainly, this stands in opposition to the concept of a national or even global stability determined by a series of inter-linked manufacturing economies. Nevertheless, the localised nature of responses to crisis, illustrated by redevelopment strategies, highlights the localised nature of emerging stability in the post-Fordist configuration of accumulation and regulation.

Secondly, increased levels of unemployment in places such as Birmingham and Dudley Borough challenged the notion of a match between production and consumption - problematically, the balance between production and consumption is dynamic. Addressing this problem requires abandoning specific Fordist experiences of stability as a generic measure for post-Fordist stability. Expansion of the service sector, enabled by the redevelopments, has failed to reproduce levels of prosperity or employment associated with the traditional economies of the regions. However, to use unemployment as a measure of stability means that crisis persists as long as there is unemployment. Problematically, this overlooks the balance between accumulation and regulation illustrated by the redevelopments, as well as the redevelopments' success.

Overall, the dynamic elements of Fordist and post-Fordist debates show how capitalist relations progress through periods of stability and crisis. In relation to this thesis, the long-term presence of a manufacturing economy provided stability, with crisis initiated by economic decline. Amin (1994: 7) therefore, produces a more useful definition of stability as capitalism's 'ability to coalesce and stabilise around a set of institutions, rules and norms which serve to secure a relatively long period of economic stability'. New methods of capital accumulation and social regulation associated with the redevelopment process can therefore be defined as both post-Fordist and stable.

1.3, Common ground between the redevelopments: Global and national changes

This chapter has so far examined how the configurations of accumulation and regulation determine periods of stability and crisis. The conceptualisation of these periods in terms of Fordism and post-Fordism provides an overarching and temporal theoretical context for the two redevelopments. Implying that accumulation and regulation occur within defined spatial boundaries, the question remains how spatial factors correlate with accumulation and regulation.

Firstly, this thesis argues that, to an extent, the regime of accumulation operated influence on a global level and therefore related to the regions studied in a collective manner. Assessing this claim, an examination of global factors highlights changes in the local experiences of accumulation.

Secondly, this thesis argues that the mode of regulation occurred on two levels - national and local. A range of actors determined a national mode of regulation, though in relation to urban redevelopment, central government political objectives have also been a dynamic element. The formation of local governance regimes underpinned local modes of regulation, though they are themselves determined by political objectives. Recognising the mode of regulation as a planned political response to economic factors, national and local levels of governance account for the duality of regulation. In relation to this chapter's aim of illustrating similarities, there is an examination of national political changes to illustrate changing national regulation.

This means that local factors determine differences between the redevelopments, most notably local patterns of social regulation. This is examined in detail in Chapter Two's analysis of local governance.

1.3.1, Global changes

Examining the nature of global changes, many Western economies, including Britain's, experienced economic downturn from the mid-1970s onwards, featuring a decline in traditional manufacturing and industrial sectors of the economy. Importantly, this section highlights how these events originated on a global level and were beyond the control of local and national actors. As such, this chapter addresses how economic changes on a global level were experienced locally. Hamilton (1984) and Duffy (1995) develop these and similar points to show a local dimension to global influences, thus providing a background to urban redevelopment strategies. This section begins by examining Hamilton's (1984) work that identifies six areas of global economic change affecting localities.

Firstly, from the 1970s there was a generic slow down in economic growth in industrial core countries. Looking at trends in OECD countries, growth in GDP fell from 5-6% (1963-1973) to 2.5% (1973-1978) and eventually less than 1% (1979-1982) (Hamilton, 1984: 351). A general downturn in global markets led to a reduction in international trade and lower investment. Hamilton continues by pointing out that areas such as transport, building, vehicles, machinery and machine tools were main targets of this downturn. Importantly for this research, this includes many areas of the economy upon which the West Midlands were heavily dependent. The result was that although employment in manufacturing grew in the West Midlands between 1958 and 1968 from 1,035,100 jobs to 2,145,600, by 1992 it had declined to 313,400 jobs (Abstract of Regional Statistics, 1971; Regional Trends, 1995).

This dual decline in economic growth and employment lies at the heart of a crisis in capital accumulation. Whilst ostensibly occurring on a global level, this provided a catalyst for local responses such as urban redevelopment projects that enabled the expansion of new forms of capital accumulation.

Secondly, Hamilton cites increased interest rates as another global factor determining decline in traditional manufacturing and industrial economies. Higher interest rates throughout Western economies resulted in lower profits and, therefore, greater reliance on borrowing. Producing a vicious circle whereby higher interest rates led to more borrowing from banks while simultaneously making borrowing more expensive, the higher cost of capital led to lower levels of investment in manufacturing and industrial sectors, such as those heavily represented in Birmingham and Dudley. With less modernisation and, consequently, less competitiveness, markets began to shrink and surplus capacity resulted in increased unemployment. The twin phenomena of, firstly, high levels of unemployment, and secondly, the unattractiveness of investment in labour intensive industries, made investment in the service sector the most viable option when attempting to restabilise local economies.

Thirdly, increased monetary instability resulted in reduced competitiveness for British exports as currencies in oil producing countries such as Britain lessened international competitiveness of manufactured goods abroad. This severely affected places such as Birmingham and Dudley that were heavily

reliant on the export market. Nationally, between 1966 and 1979, there was a 10.1% decline in employment in car manufacturing, 14.5% in mechanical engineering and 21.3% in metal manufacturing (Pacione, 1997b: 17). Placing this in the context of global factors determining local responses, new regimes of capital accumulation need to be less reliant on the export market. Consequently, the redevelopments at Broad Street and Merry Hill relied on attracting visitors to the region rather than the traditional economy of manufacturing to export.

Fourthly, Hamilton argues that demands for new social values concerning environmental protection and design standards began to emerge in many of the advanced Western economies, resulting in increased costs for industry. Relating this to local experiences, this has become increasingly important, as rising levels of derelict industrial ground needed cleaning and detoxifying. Evidence of this is found in the over four-fold increase in spending on the Derelict Land Grant (Robson et al, 1994), a central government grant to help with costs of preparing former industrial ground for development.

Fifth, energy saving designs and new technology reduced demand for both labour and raw materials. Despite the higher cost of investment highlighted previously, increased energy costs made certain forms of investment more cost effective. This mainly covered innovations that could save energy in production and make industry less labour intensive.

Finally, increased industrialisation of countries in places such as the Far East diminished international demand for British exports. Between 1950 and 1960, Britain's share of the world export market fell from 25.5% to 9.7%. Linking this to the West Midlands, expansion of Far East economies has undermined regional reliance on car manufacturing.

Hamilton's six points leads to the question of what structures connect local experiences with global factors. Drawing on the work of Esser and Hirsch (1989) to address such factors, it is evident that new forms of capital accumulation manifest in a variety of labour-capital relations. Firstly, there were higher levels of unemployment following the decline of labour-intensive work. Although business and local authority actors in the case studies cited the redevelopment process as a method of economic regeneration, regional unemployment has persisted despite the commercial successes of the BSRA and Merry Hill. Overall, the expansion of the service sector has only partially offset the social problems of economic decline.

Secondly, deskilling of white-collar work described as 'industrialisation of the service sector' (Esser and Hirsch, 1989: 422) characterises the changing nature of local economies. Insecure, low-skill jobs dominate the redevelopments at Broad Street and Merry Hill, like many other service sector projects. Despite training facilities present at Broad Street and planned for Merry Hill, training is of a low level (Byrne, 1997). Thirdly,

service sector growth has neither underpinned high levels of national growth nor increased workforce prosperity. Although this has provided some opportunities for employment and economic growth, the case studies illustrate that it is hard to say that the redevelopments provided local regeneration. Ultimately, the localised nature of redevelopments, a shrinking potential market after decline of exports, and a reliance on consumer spending rather than commercial spending has limited the ability of the service sector to regenerate. Finally, there has been increased individualism in relation to work with the decline of mass production, increased job competition and fewer unions. The service sector features a traditionally casual approach to the labour market, which has become increasingly entrenched in places such as the BSRA and Merry Hill.

Importantly, these events have implications not just for individual companies, but also for the networks of companies involved in manufacturing. Duffy (1995) points out that the West Midlands had a highly integrated economy, primarily around car manufacturing. Hence, smaller companies manufacturing components echoed any decline in large companies. Overall, global economic restructuring led to a decline in traditional manufacturing economies in the West and broke down the networks of companies involved.

The search for new areas of economic growth since the early 1980s has increasingly been characterised, therefore, by the provision of services rather

than manufacturing and industry. While in 1981, manufacturing accounted for 43.5% of male and 21.8% of female employment in the West Midlands, by 1994, this had declined to 32.3% and 13.8%. During the same period, employment in the service sector increased from 32% to 46.2% for men, and 68.8% to 78.7% for women (Regional Trends, 1995). Likewise, there has been an absolute increase in employment in the service sector as local economies developed new areas of economic activity. Consequently, increased investment in construction and marketing has typified new patterns of accumulation and supported increased demand and opportunities for retail, leisure and conferencing. Investment of this nature has been less reliant on the export market, leading to a more localised perspective on competition and marketing as potential markets shrink.

Overall, global changes in the economy have led to new patterns of capital accumulation on a global scale as manufacturing and industrial economies are 'relocated' to places such as the Far East. This has obvious implications for countries caught up in the heart of such changes, such as Britain. Fundamentally, concerning a shift from production-reliant to consumption-reliant economies, the regime of accumulation illustrates a particular balance between economic components. Such economic factors can be defined as global because although national and local governments might adopt policies to support industry, or otherwise, the general decline of industry as a mainstay of Western economies was largely inevitable. However, despite these factors being global in their origins, it is localities that experienced

their effects. Hence, the decline of industry and manufacturing, followed by an expansion of the service sector within the West Midlands represented a local experience of global trends.

1.3.2, National changes

The changes outlined above illustrate changes in the regime of accumulation in former industrial and manufacturing economies. On a national level, changes in the regime of accumulation inherent within global factors, point to the decline of industry being inevitable in industrialised Western economies. The question this section addresses is how national changes helped construct a mode of regulation common to both redevelopments.

The first point is to identify to what extent the implementation of government political objectives represented a significant aspect of social regulation. Returning to Painter's definition of a mode of regulation, it included 'political and socio-cultural institutions and practices which secure that relationship [of production and consumption]' (1995: 277). From this starting point, Deakin and Edwards (1993) argue that urban policies such as Enterprise Zones, Urban Development Corporations, and a variety of grants aimed at encouraging a particular type of accumulation, underpinned an enterprise culture.

Identifying national political changes as an aspect of regulation, Jessop argues that central government under the banner of Thatcherism was 'busy reorganising the boundaries of the British State, its internal structures and its forms of intervention in the hope that this would encourage entrepreneurialism and flexibility in the economy' (1990: 46). As such, the government was not attempting to dictate patterns of accumulation, but managing socio-political relations in order to support and encourage newly emerging accumulation strategies.

Jessop believes that as well as (or possibly because of) economic crises in Britain during the 1970s, 'political and ideological crises were intensified', with the 'reorganisation of bourgeois hegemony' becoming necessary (1990: 75). This not only relates to Esser and Hirsch's theory of a hegemonic structure, but also identifies regulation as both responsive to economic change as well as essential for sustained patterns of accumulation. This also illustrates that national political structures responded to economic factors originating from a global level.

In relation to this thesis, urban policy was a significant aspect of the way Conservative governments during the 1980s developed patterns of regulation to complement dominant trends in capital accumulation. Arguing that urban policy formed part of social regulation, two factors are borne in mind. Firstly, that urban policy was not the only site of regulation, but that its importance lay in the way that it underpinned the redevelopment process.

Secondly, political ideology underpinned urban policy as a means of regulation.

Defining urban policy, Blackman argues that it needs to be understood as being 'essentially about the welfare of local residents in an urban society' (1995: 5). Admitting that this is a 'wide definition', Blackman not only fails to identify the motivation of urban policy he also fails to account for urban policy aimed at promoting private enterprise (Deakin and Edward, 1993). Adopting a static approach to defining urban policy, this fails to explain changes in urban policy as a feature of political and economic restructuring.

Constructing a more dynamic definition, Pacione defines urban policy as 'the management of urban change' (1997b: 23) and consequently can be identified as an aspect of social regulation. Pacione develops this point by stating that urban policy is not a single event, but a continuous process resulting from power relations concerning the control and allocation of resources. From this definition, urban policies examined in the case studies illustrate an aspect of social regulation. Relating this to the redevelopments, decreased local authority powers on planning and finance paved the way for an increased private sector input to regional development.

The aim of this section, therefore, is not to map out and examine individual urban policies, as Deakin and Edwards identify around 32 such policies. Instead, this section illustrates how new ideologies guided urban policy,

with changes in urban policy acting as an analytical tool when examining the case study evidence.

Changes in urban policy form an important feature in the study of redevelopment because of the way in which they illustrate political responses to crises. Fainstein and Campbell (1996) emphasise this political dimension to urban policy, examining the conditions under which it occurs and recognising three realms of influence. Firstly, urban policy defines priorities. This means that in the light of economic decline that occurred in some regions, economic restructuring became an essential objective. Secondly, political restructuring meant the public sector was no longer the main agency to plan and initiate economic regeneration, demonstrating significant changes in urban planning. Thirdly, the decline of traditional economies meant certain policies were no longer viable options in regenerating urban areas, with the lack of support for industry and manufacturing contrasting with aid directed towards the service sector. The work of Deakin and Edwards (1993) ties these themes together by demonstrating how urban policy is increasingly part of an enterprise culture, rather than dealing with issues of welfare or housing.

With this in mind, restabilisation strategies have involved constructing a new hegemonic structure through implementing new socio-political objectives, i.e. a new mode of regulation. In relation to this thesis, an important area where this occurred was in government urban policy

specifically aimed at encouraging urban redevelopment. Behind this was a government rejection of the 'post-war democratic consensus' and a war 'against the evils responsible for Britain's crisis (such as socialism, bureaucratism, welfarism, trade union dictatorship, penal taxation and rising crime)²' (Jessop, 1990: 75). Whilst defining the rhetoric of Thatcherism, it might be more accurate to say that the war was against outdated patterns of regulation.

The result was that increased freedom of market forces characterised national political changes, with this being a notable contrast to actually determining the nature of those market forces. Demonstrating the influence of economic considerations in political responses, Jessop adds that the experience of economic crisis shaped political change. Referring to Jessop's work, changes in the mode of regulation on a national level meant the end of 'Keynesian welfare state projects'. Subsequently, and in contrast, there was 'a more limited hegemony concerned to mobilise support of strategically significant sectors of the population and pass the costs of the project to other sectors' (1990: 211/2).

Taking theorisations of national regulation and placing them in context of urban redevelopments, the new aims of urban policy covers many aspects of national regulation. Notably, this includes increased primacy for private sector activity, entrepreneurial policies, new patterns of labour relations, and

² Author's own brackets

political restructuring of local governance.

The importance of this to the thesis is that it explains conflict between political and economic objectives witnessed in the case studies, demonstrating how the public and private sectors exhibit distinct yet varying objectives in the redevelopment process. Defining these objectives, while profit maximisation underpins private sector aims, Pacione (1997b) identifies political legitimation as the basis for public sector objectives.

Having examined how urban policy forms an aspect of social regulation, the next question concerns how urban policy developed as a result of political objectives. In relation to this thesis, urban policy highlights how a specific political environment framed local strategies and responses to economic and social crises and ensures that the local redevelopment process lies at the heart of local socio-political restructuring. This position, evident in an ideological shift to the right, stemmed from the election in 1979 of the first of four successive Conservative governments. National government has continued to exert a significant influence over local urban restructuring with urban policy to implement ideological goals such as an 'enterprise culture'.

Coming from a background of using the Urban Programme to finance social and community projects, the Labour government in the late-1970s began to restructure urban policy. The 1977 white paper 'Policy for the Inner Cities', defined this change in direction by:

‘Explicitly revis[ing] its [urban policy’s] emphasis on cultural and personal attributes of urban deprivation and instead identified poorly functioning economies as the fundamental cause [of urban deprivation].’ (Wolman and Goldsmith, 1992: 201)

Supporting an analysis of deregulation and neo-liberalism that views crises as ‘having occurred in the market, not because of the market’ (Peck, 1996: 2), the increased influence of the private sector in urban policy formation and the redevelopment process were the result of these political changes (Albrechts, 1991). This underpins this thesis’s analysis of change in the distribution of urban power, with the private sector having increased control.

For this reason, local redevelopments were not only economic entities because of their role in the regime of accumulation, they were also political entities through their delivery of a new political ideology to localities as part of social regulation. Hence, whilst a set of global economic changes were identified as a catalyst for redevelopment, national political objectives were also important in the study of urban redevelopment.

Deakin and Edwards (1993) note that from 1977 central government identified that inner-city problems were the result of economic decline, highlighting global economic factors as a catalyst for redevelopment. Linking this to the Conservative victory in 1979, Labour’s previous aim of economic regeneration by appending to it a political ideology underwent a

series of modifications. Ideologically, the government identified the private sector as the central agency to bring about economic regeneration. Not only did this mean the private sector was identified as being efficient and capable of bringing about regeneration, it also meant local authorities and welfare-based aid were to be marginalised in urban policy objectives. Essentially, this involved moving away from those policy measures reactive to social and economic deprivation and towards proactive measures that would diversify and restructure local economies.

Ostensibly, the philosophy of an enterprise culture concerned a political ideology more than specific policies. Consequently, it is hard to define exactly except through the fundamental belief of the private sector being an important agent of economic regeneration, with local authorities identified as a fetter on such change. Relating this to the BSRA and Merry Hill, a noticeable similarity was the private sector's influence over not only investment but also social regulation, with an essential feature of this being the complementary decrease in the power of local authorities to regulate economic activity. It is for this reason that Deakin and Edwards (1993) cite changes in urban policy as a product of an enterprise culture, rather than an enterprise culture emerging from such policies. Hence, economic decline was a starting point for redevelopment whilst urban policy determined the political environment of redevelopment.

Transforming ideology into practice began in 1981 with the introduction of

Urban Development Corporations, which involved an alliance between central government and the private sector. Allowing the private sector to benefit from central government funds, distinct geographical areas of economic decline received tax holidays, subsidies and the provision of infrastructure. Importantly, this set a precedence of, firstly, marginalising local authorities, and, secondly, using public money not directly in welfare but to 'lever in' private sector money, thereby making it an investment.

Deakin and Edwards (1993) state that the shift from welfare-led to market-led solutions aimed to achieve public, social ends through the activities of private, economic actors. The redevelopments were prime examples of this, with private sector actors encouraged through grants and policies such as Enterprise Zones, which made certain areas of land that had seen industrial decline, free from rates, certain taxes and included simplified planning. Political actors presumed that investment of this nature would lead to increased prosperity. Deakin and Edwards remain sceptical of the 'compatibility of private ends and public means' (1993: 14). This thesis, through the case studies, examines the shortcomings of such a relationship.

Overall, political changes made urban policy more acquiescent to the demands of the private sector (Deakin and Edwards, 1993), demands that were centred on profit maximisation through new methods of capital accumulation. These new methods included the expansion of a capital-intensive service sector, changing labour-capital relations, and investment in

construction and marketing. Urban policy was a central form of regulation because it addressed change by altering the balance of power between business and politics. There has been a marginalisation of local authorities still adhering to old forms of accumulation and regulation. In assessing the social impact of such changes, Deakin and Edwards (1993) believe urban policy has become increasingly business-oriented, with the private sector expected to meet social objectives. Notably, this includes an assumption that economic regeneration is only possible through free market activity, and that this will ultimately lead to social regeneration. Implicit in this is a belief in the market as an efficient and effective means of distributing rewards and resources.

1.4, Summary

In summary, this thesis identifies three distinct spatial and analytical levels - global, national and local, with this chapter analysing the global and national levels in terms of the context they form for local redevelopment.

The global dimension examines economic changes that, experienced locally, formed a catalyst for redevelopment, as well as national political changes that were responsive to global factors and experienced locally as a political framework within which redevelopment occurs. Combined, these dimensions form a context for local redevelopment by identifying themes

that are common to both redevelopments. This is because both the BSRA and Merry Hill projects occurred within the same global and national configuration, as well as coming from similar backgrounds of accumulation and regulation associated with manufacturing and industry.

Consequently, it is argued that it was factors that were not common to both sites that determined differences between the redevelopments, and included local histories, locally formulated strategies and the influence of local actors. Therefore, while there were similar regimes of capital accumulation, there existed some degree of local fine-tuning and determination possible with regard to social regulation. Chapter Two continues developing the broad theoretical framework by examining structures in which these local differences occurred.

Chapter Two

Local governance and local differences

2.1, Introduction

Chapter One argued that changes originating on global and national levels were common factors in the redevelopments in Birmingham and Dudley Borough, with both regions experiencing decline in traditional economies as well as the effects of a changing national political environment. However, despite recognising this common background to, and even catalyst for, urban redevelopment, it is still necessary to account for the range of differences evident between the two sites. This therefore brings the thesis to the next question; having identified global and national factors experienced similarly within both localities, how is it possible to account for factors determining differences between the two redevelopments.

This chapter consequently identifies and explores a series of themes seen to vary between each location and, hence, underpin factors specific to each redevelopment. In doing so, this chapter theorises local governance in order to study how local public and private sector actors combined in partnerships, formal or otherwise. The central argument is, therefore, that by synthesising global and national issues with local histories, opportunities and interests,

local governance has played a significant role in determining local patterns of social regulation that have influenced the redevelopment process and underpinned differences.

Investigating local governance as a particular source of local differences, the chapter begins by examining the background to local governance. Subsequently, and following on from the previous chapter, it is argued that local governance forms a site of social regulation specific to each location. Broadly based on Goodwin and Painter's (1996) identification of twelve areas of change in post-Fordist local governance, this thesis focuses on four specific areas. The first section - ideology and politics - argues that a precursor to local governance was a process of political restructuring. Subsequent sections examine how local governance regulated economic objectives, the labour market, and local imagery.

Having examined local governance as a site of regulation, the central question is how to account for variations, with the theorisation of specific regimes illustrating the dynamic nature of local governance. This is important because while examining issues around local governance in both case studies, theories need to be flexible enough to explain why there are differences.

2.2, *Background to local governance*

As a starting point, Goodwin and Painter define local governance as:

‘Not just the formal agencies of elected political institutions... but also central government, a range of non-elected organisations as well as institutional and individual actors from outside the formal political arena, such as voluntary organisations, private businesses and corporations, the mass media and increasingly, supra-national institutions such as the European Union.’ (1996: 636)

One of the most noticeable features of local governance for this research is, therefore, the diversity of local actors involved in decision-making and their inter-relations (O’Toole, 1996; Bassett, 1996; Barnes, 1999; Malpass, 1994; 1999; Thomas, 1996). The complexity and diversity of partners underpins Goodwin and Painter’s (1999: 506) assertion that the move from *government* to *governance* ‘is a far from unilinear trend’. Whilst the role of the local press and voluntary organisations are important elements of local governance, this thesis focuses mainly on the relationship between local authorities and local businesses. This is not to dismiss or marginalize the role of other groups, but to acknowledge the centrality of economic and political synthesis within the redevelopment process.

Starting with an assessment of the relationship between Birmingham City Council and non-council agencies such as the private sector and the European Union, a fundamental aspect of Birmingham City Council within

the redevelopment strategy was to attract external funding and develop partnerships (Loftman and Nevin, 1992; Jacobs, 1997). This has been a generic pattern throughout Britain and illustrates what some have termed new urban politics (Jessop, 1994; Mayer, 1994; Amin and Tomaney, 1991; Deakin and Edwards, 1993). Following on in the broad vein of political change, Loftman and Nevin (1992) examine relations between business and the City Council within the context of new political doctrines and new economic demands. Loftman and Nevin (1992) identify how during the 1980s, the City Council believed increased private sector investment would underpin regeneration through a reliance on 'trickle-down' economics. The seemingly ubiquitous presence of trickle-down as a basis for redevelopment projects, and more importantly, as a justification for redefined City Council spending priorities has been questioned regarding its validity (Pacione, 1997b; Eisenschitz, 1997; Fainstein, 1996; Logan and Molotch, 1987; Donald, 1999). Despite such criticisms, a belief in trickle-down lay behind many service sector redevelopment projects in previously industrial regions, with the objective being that the benefits of new investment would 'trickle-down' to local communities in need of regeneration (Loftman and Nevin, 1994; Imrie and Thomas, 1995; Carley 1991; Lawless, 1994).

Behind this newfound reliance on trickle-down lay a sea-change in British political thought, spearheaded by changes in central government ideology. However, for trickle-down to be believed there was an assumption that new investment was necessary and that local authorities could (or should) be

quiescent to the needs of local investors. However, this model of public-private relations is somewhat idealised as it overlooks the conflicts between two distinct local power structures. Interestingly for this research, the relationship between local authorities and local property developers varied over time and place, with the sometimes-fraught nature of this relationship limiting integration between redevelopments and surrounding facilities – thereby restricting economic development and expansion. This was certainly the case with Merry Hill, where conflict between Dudley MBC and the Richardson brothers limited the centre’s development and expansion because of its continued abstraction from existing town centre facilities, thereby supporting the claim made in the last chapter that social regulation has national and local elements. Although national government regulation supported new patterns of capital accumulation, local regulation undermined the hegemonic structure. In contrast, a comparatively shared vision in Birmingham by local authorities and developers of the region’s economic future underpinned the building of co-operation and consensus.

Important for the integration of local and non-local factors in one study, Goodwin and Painter’s definition of *local* governance identifies a range of *non-local* influences – a factor also identified as important by Mayer (1994) and Bassett (1996) in their studies of new forms of local governance. Being specific regarding the nature of these influences, Imrie and Thomas (1995) examine the how Urban Development Corporations exemplified the way national policies influence local activities, often leading to a situation where

urban policies fail to benefit local people (Imrie, Thomas and Marshall, 1995; Parker and Oatley, 1989; Nicholson, 1989). In a similar vein, Smith (1996: 42-3) examines the way the policy of Enterprise Zones linked 'different spatial scales' and brought global and national issues to the local stage. The study of Enterprise Zones is especially interesting to this research given that the creation of two Enterprise Zones in Dudley Borough was a precursor to the development of Merry Hill.

As well as the spatial and political dimensions to local governance, Goodwin and Painter's definition illustrates the increasing influence of the private sector in planning. Important for the way this has distanced local communities from planning as a local authority issue, this has also shifted the objectives away from implicit notions of welfare, and towards a business-orientated culture whereby welfare is an indirect product of investment and trickle-down. Coming to the fore during the 1980s 'enterprise culture' (Deakin and Edwards, 1993), people such as the Richardson brothers assumed a 'local hero' status (Lowe, 1993) that legitimated their role in planning and urban management. It should be added at this point, that there were also a wide range of companies just as entrepreneurial as these 'local heroes' in terms of investment patterns, but lacking the personalisation of their activities. Notably, companies such as Brindleyplace plc in Birmingham took on a similar role to the Richardson brothers in terms of investment, though, arguably, in a more sustainable manner.

Finally, local governance also includes a range of bodies representing coalitions of smaller businesses, such as chambers of commerce and traders' associations, though Bassett comments that such organisations are 'weak and ineffectual' (1996: 540). Whilst broadly accepting of the need for economic change, they are often controlled by businesses whose success was based within the traditional economies, these organisations often 'have a foot in each camp' on the issue of economic diversification. The result is that local economic changes have underpinned restructuring of regional business interests (Bassett, 1996; Carley, 1991) and added greater importance to the structure of local governance rather than organisations associated with previous regimes of accumulation - therefore, local governance is a dialectic of varied interests, with change in one component leading to change in the overall product.

Overall, the changes in local governance examined within this thesis demonstrate that following the new importance placed on local governance, increased levels of private sector involvement are linked to subsequent decreases in commitment to local welfare objectives. A factor identified within other examples of local governance responding to decline in traditional economies (Cochrane et al, 1996), it is therefore argued that the decreased influence of elected officials challenges traditional notions of democracy (Wilson, 1998), with the potential to marginalise local communities from the planning process. Supported in some degree by Imrie

(1997: 95), it is argued that there has been a ‘political marginalisation of a whole host of urban communities’, supported by central government guided ‘property-led’ urban regeneration and local ‘political quiescence’. Together with an identification of neo-liberalism (Paddison, 1997), this shows how local political restructuring is just as important to local governance as economic restructuring. Evidence from the case studies supports this position, showing how local authorities were prepared to support economic diversification through changing policies, spending and activities.

2.3, Variations in local regulation: Regimes and coalitions

Examining this issue of local governance and regulation, Goodwin and Painter (1996: 644) identify twelve sites of local governance regulation in total, with this chapter examining four of those sites that are most pertinent in analysing the BSRA and Merry Hill case studies. Significantly, it would be naive to expect these four sites of regulation to occur in the same configuration in all forms of local governance. Instead, the range of local histories, external influences and local actors, as well as the nature of local governance, etc. between the two sites determines their specific configuration.

This means it is necessary to locate local governance formation within a framework of social regulation. Chapter One argued that for stability to

emerge, social regulation must support and complement the regime of accumulation. Additionally, the case studies demonstrate that social regulation features locally specific elements that suit locally specific features of capital accumulation. Regime theory is used to analyse local actors in relation to both regulation and local governance, identifying specific regimes as instances of local social regulation. There remain some methodological concerns regarding the marriage of regime theory with regulation theory. Notably, such concerns centre on the ‘methodological ambiguity’ resulting from, firstly, identifying local governance as being reactive to change and, secondly, ‘ontological, epistemological and methodological incompatibilities’ (MacLeod and Goodwin, 1999; Goodwin and Painter, 1997; Painter, 1997). Whilst being aware of such problems, it is necessary to theorise macro events in conjunction with local events in order to produce a holistic picture of the redevelopment process. This is not to say however that a marriage between regulation theory and regime is the lesser of the evils. Firstly, whilst there may be some methodological ambiguities inherent in such a pluralist position, the thesis highlights that ontologies and epistemologies can be spatially differentiated to reflect varied influences and objectives. As such, it would be wrong to say the theories have been married or fastened on to each other, but more accurate to say that this thesis attempts to combine their individual strengths within a single synergy whilst being aware of potential pitfalls.

Importantly for this thesis, regime theory provides a method of defining local governance in a series of local regimes that features an understanding of local issues within a broader context (Ward, 1996; Stoker and Mossberger, 1994; DiGaetano and Klemanski, 1993). Frequently used as an aspect of regulation theory (Petit, 1999; Jonas, 1992), regime theory has analysed partnerships between local political and economic actors as a means to maintain stability. Illustrating how social regulation develops at a local level, this thesis uses regime theory to examine how local actors related to one another and the subsequent implications for social regulation.

Tracing the background to regime theory, Ward (1996: 428) highlights ‘the community-power paradigm that was in vogue in the US during the 1950s and 1960s but which became academically sterile due to irreconcilable methodological and epistemological differences’. Subsequently, urban growth coalition theory (Harvey Molotch, 1976; Jonas and Wilson, 1999; Logan and Molotch, 1987; Bassett, 1996) argues that place specific business interests form coalitions to bolster the local economies, thus producing a ‘growth machine’. Comprising of ‘business leaders, lawyers, rentiers, property brokers and local newspapers’ (Logan and Molotch, 1987), the coalitions centralise objectives based on market led solutions to economic downturn.

Problematically, this is too accumulation-based in its analysis of crisis, thus overlooking both political dimensions to crisis as well as the influential role

played by non-business actors such as central and local government. Potentially, traditional theorisations of growth coalitions stand at odds with the regulatory capacity of local governance and evidence of political restructuring.

Therefore, Logan and Molotch's profile of local actors indicates a relatively low level of input from local authorities, which is possibly a reflection of its American background. However, this is problematic in a British context where a range of public-private partnerships operates (Basset, 1996; Carley, 1991), with Jessop, Peck and Tickell (1999: 145) pointing out that growth coalition theory is limited in 'its applicability beyond U.S. Fordism'. Evidence shows that local authorities have also been proactive in partnership formation, economic diversification and redevelopment. This central role for the local authority develops an analysis of crisis beyond purely economic terms and includes issues of political legitimisation.

Urban growth coalitions have therefore been a popular, though debated (Shaw, 1993; Lawless, 1994), concept in studying regeneration, 'much loved in the USA to explore the interrelationships between local business and local politics' (Basset, 1996: 547). However, a general feature has been the subjugation of local politics to the demands of a 'rentier class' deemed to be the active element in effecting change (Harding, 1995: 42; Jonas and Wilson, 1999: 5-6). Although accurately identifying capital accumulation as

a dynamic element of change, it potentially leads the theorist to an economically (or at least commercially) determinist position.

Appearing to develop from urban growth coalition theory, regime theory identifies a potential for the public and private sectors to unite on grounds of mutual interest. Despite some valid criticism of regime theory being too 'localist and empiricist' that should be replaced by a study of 'new urban politics' (Ward, 1996), this thesis identifies how non-local factors affect regimes as well as placing regimes within a context of regulation theory. Importantly, from this position, regime theory moves away from the notion of economic growth being the sole aim of the redevelopment process.

In the context of this research, this means the redevelopments benefited both the local authorities and local businesses in specific ways. Consequently, they both had a mutual interest in the redevelopment process, though for different reasons. While the redevelopments represented an opportunity for new patterns of capital accumulation, they also represented an important focus for local governance as a site of regulation.

Regime theory thereby balances some aspects of urban growth coalition theory without undermining its more useful features, providing instead a flexible approach to analysing public-private relations. Allowing for an understanding of the 'interdependence of governmental and non-

governmental forces in meeting economic and social challenges' (Stoker, 1995: 54), Stoker draws on the work of Stone to add:

'Regime theory takes as given a set of government institutions subject to some degree of popular control and an economy guided mainly but not exclusively by privately controlled investment decisions. A regime is a set of "arrangements by which this division of labour is bridged."' (1995: 56)

The above quote illustrates effectively why regime theory is so applicable to this research. Basset (1996) further highlights the importance of this approach by recognising the significance of political power within the redevelopment process. Consequently, this creates a position where it is possible to argue that those with urban power such as capital, land or governing capacity enter into alliances within specific regimes, with those from local communities being excluded. Theorisations of private sector dominance inherent in growth coalitions therefore remain an obstacle when explaining the public-private co-operation characteristic of many partnerships. In support of this, Basset points out that 'although business often has a privileged role in these coalitions, business dominance is not inevitable' (1996: 548).

Commenting on regime theory's ability to account for a plural set of local relations, Stoker (1995) points out that urban regimes provide a long term, stable relationship within localities that can cope with a variety of challenges - with the localised nature of these challenges and subsequent

regimes recognised by Ward (1996). In doing so, this thereby identifies local crises as being more diverse than economic recession alone by highlighting political challenges, thus locating regime theory within debates around stability and crisis examined in the previous chapter. This emphasises the potentially complementary nature of regulation and regime theories despite the aforementioned methodological concerns.

Raising the question of how to differentiate between regimes, theorists have broken regimes down into a series of components, with DiGaetano and Klemanski (1993) identifying these as formation, sustenance, and characteristics. These factors can be further contextualised within issues such as economic conditions, political environment, how formal communication is, and resources available. Although the complexity of DiGaetano and Klemanski's work is necessary in order for regime theory to embrace diverse and varied urban redevelopment strategies, a slightly more transparent approach is beneficial for a thesis where the main focus is on examining and comparing specific redevelopment strategies. Useful to this thesis therefore, Stone (1993) identifies three essential factors determining the nature of regimes, thus providing a basis to recognise differences between the two redevelopments studied. Examined below, they are composition, relations between regime members, and resources available.

Firstly, there is the composition of the regime. Although broadly being a public-private partnership, the case studies reveal a complexity and variety

of relations. Typically, groups such as traders' associations and chambers of commerce themselves represent minor growth coalitions operating within the confines of particular regimes. In addition to this variety, the relative dependencies and autonomies of each partner can vary between regimes. For example, in some places the local authority has more power than at other sites, while it is also possible for local business interests to be very dominant. Significantly, the composition of the regime influences the prioritisation of objectives between commercial and political goals.

Secondly, Stone recognises the nature of relations between regime members as an important factor, with the presence of a wide range of aims and objectives within the redevelopment process illustrating the diversity of partners within the regime. In order to foster a degree of consensus rather than conflict, there needs to be a method of achieving active compromise. Involving the formation of channels of communication between the partners, this encourages dialogue, recognises mutual interests, and distinguishes the redevelopment of Broad Street from Merry Hill. While local developers and the City Council co-operated around a common view of economic diversification in Birmingham, there was no such consensus in Dudley Borough.

Thirdly, Stone identifies resources available as being an essential element. At a basic level, regimes form around a group of institutions that have access to urban resources - notably land, capital and/or 'governing capacity'

(Stoker, 1995: 59). Typically, while the private sector brings financial resources and investment, local authorities bring political power and legitimation to the regime. Not only does this define membership and resources of the regime, it also identifies those groups such as communities that are not part of the regimes.

Consequently, it is possible to see how in relation to this thesis there exists a degree of common ground between regulation and regime theories. Firstly, both begin with the argument that local governance involves a conscious and planned response to economic factors, not in purely reactive manner but in relation to ideological, local and commercial concerns. Secondly, this response is based around ensuring broad socio-economic relations underpin a balance between production and consumption. The differences (and therefore methodological ambiguities) consequently lie with the level of analysis at which each operates, and the nature of external influence. Importantly for this thesis, regime theory can be used to illustrate local variations in regulation because, firstly, local governance varies between locations, and secondly, local governance is an important site of regulation.

This ties in with DiGaetano and Klemanski's (1993) identification of regimes as being 'modes of governance'. However, whilst they distinguish these 'modes' through a typology of objectives, it is more advantageous to analyse differences originating from local variations of composition and relations, as well as governance's relation to configurations of social

regulation examined by Goodwin and Painter (1996). Emphasising the role of regulation, this replaces crude outcome-based typologies with an analysis of diversity based on a set of complex and dynamic relations. Choosing to use regime theory in this thesis, three main considerations are borne in mind.

Firstly, examining how local actors unite, regime theory highlights the important role of local political actors, as opposed to a commercially-determinist model of local governance that only exist to further commercial objectives. For a local hegemonic structure to be achieved there also needs to be complementary accumulation and regulation, for which political activity is necessary. This is most evident at Merry Hill, where it was not until a regime based around local public and private actors formed that the centre - and therefore local service sector economy - was able to expand.

Secondly, with reference to the problem of why economic and political bodies unite, regime theory demonstrates how political and economic actors are able to negotiate mutual interests, with urban redevelopment being a conscious manifestation. For example, the redevelopment of Broad Street was a way of expanding new forms of capital accumulation in Birmingham.

Finally, regime theory illustrates that the dynamic nature of local governance lies in the ability of local actors to form coalitions. In other words, local governance represents a series of changes from the past, understood in terms of social regulation. Not only does this demonstrate that local governance in

places such as Birmingham and, eventually, Dudley Borough are dynamic, it also shows how local regimes formed around a central vision of economic and political negotiations. This is further highlighted with regard the Broad Street case study when one of the interviewees talks of the ‘negotiated stance’ between business and the City Council. .

Regime theory, in this thesis, thereby highlights the autonomy of local governance to determine events such as the redevelopment process that occurs within broader structures of social regulation. Furthermore, it accounts for potential differences when understood as a site of local regulation. Importantly, and in contrast to growth coalition theory, it identifies a central position for a political dimension to local governance. This is essential to avoid economic determinism because it highlights the importance of political activities in enabling long-term economic success.

2.4, Local governance regimes and local communities

Whilst the literature on regimes and coalitions is wide ranging and numerous, it is necessary to explicitly identify which areas are relevant to this research. Initially, local regimes tackle the influence of economic and political restructuring within localities. However, the theory is flexible enough to trace this back to global and national issues by interpreting it within a context of regulation theory, thus beginning to address Ward’s

(1996) concerns that regime theory is too 'localist and empiricist'. With this as a starting point, relations between governmental and non-governmental actors form structures to underpin local political and economic stability.

An important aim of this research has been to study local governance and regimes as locally specific responses to global and national forces. Attempting to develop further the understanding of local governance variations, there is a need to examine the nature of regime theory debated by Stoker (1995) and DiGaetano and Klemanski (1993) in relation to this thesis.

Stoker (1995: 61) identifies three main types of regime. Firstly, maintenance regimes aiming to maintain local patterns of production and regulation, essentially taking on a managerial role rather than aiming to restructure relations between the partners. Secondly, development regimes aiming to arrest local economic decline and develop growth. This is the most appropriate type of regime for this research, although the case studies illustrate that this still leaves room for local variation. Thirdly, middle class progressive regimes that seek social gains or environmental protection at the expense of all-out economic growth.

Overall, in relation to this thesis, a central vision of economic growth formed a basis for constructing regimes; though this vision is open to some degree of interpretation by the actors involved. As such, this does not mean

that economic growth *per se* was the ultimate objective for both partners, but that it was a means to an end. For the private sector, economic change associated with the redevelopment heralded new forms of capital accumulation whilst for the local authority it underpinned a process of political legitimation played out through place marketing. This identified mutual interests around the economy as the reason for constructing alliances.

Looking at how this balance between potentially competing interests might be mediated, Victari and Molotch (in Jessop, Peck and Tickell, 1999) suggest four factors that will encourage 'U.S.-style growth machines' - these being taxation and land use power; relative local autonomy; party political organisation; objectives concerning growth. These four factors can also be adapted to illustrate why coalitions or regimes may not form.

Firstly, Victari and Molotch state that the extent of local government taxation-powers and land-use control is a significant determinant over the strength of coalitions. In the context of urban policy, the creation of Enterprise Zones in Dudley Borough denied the local authority any command over land-use by scrapping many planning controls as well as removing their ability to collect rates. In contrast, effective land-use control by a local authority through planning controls, such as in the case of Birmingham, can determine the style of redevelopment before the private sector becomes officially involved.

Secondly, Victari and Molotch argue that there needs to be a 'relatively autonomous' local government for regimes or coalitions to form, notably autonomous from central government. Consequently, the greater the influence of nationally formulated urban policy experienced by a region, the less chance there is of forming an effective local regime. Autonomy from central government remains a relative concept however, with Chapter One highlighting how central government spearheaded the political environment within which the redevelopments occurred. As such, the local authorities within this thesis were never totally autonomous from central government, though the degree of autonomy remained relative and an important factor in regime formation.

Thirdly, Victari and Molotch argue that 'weak party organisation' can lead to the private sector having increased dominance over regeneration, reflecting the way urban growth theory understands political structures being subordinate to the economy. Placing this in a British context, and one that prioritises a synthesis between economic and political structures, successful regime creation needs an active local political consensus. As such, the more the local authority was based around a consensual local focus rather than party divisions the more chance of regime formation.

Finally, regimes are said to develop where 'there is no political party that is "anti-growth"' (Victari and Molotch, in Jessop, Peck and Tickell, 1999). This can be re-stated, in relation to this thesis, to be when all political parties

have a similar vision or understanding of economic growth and are politically inclined to view the private sector as a means of achieving this growth. A fundamental aspect of this is a belief by the local authority that public spending to attract the private sector would result in more local prosperity than public spending on welfare. This was a basic assumption of changes in urban policy.

These four factors define notable differences concerning the potential for regime formation and the potential for conflict between local authorities and local business - with differences being defined not in terms of 'extra-local' political and economic issues, but in terms of the responses that have followed. In essence this examines the way the public and private sectors united, or not as the case may be, around an identification of mutual interests. Potentially leading to a regime involving local governmental and non-governmental structures, the alternative remains dominance by the private sector.

Furthermore in this thesis, analysis of regimes, as well as identifying essential issues and actors involved, also addresses those who experience the effects of local regimes but are not necessarily involved. Overall, analyses of local communities have not featured heavily in the study of local regimes because of their absence. However, this thesis argues that their absence, or exclusion, is notable and makes them as important a theme in defining regimes as those elements that are included. Not only does this broaden out

the debate concerning the character of local governance, it also begins to address some of the methodological concerns previously mentioned about combining regulation and regime theories because communities provide a link between the two.

Already it has been shown that regime theory identifies the presence of specific regimes in terms of groups involved in decision-making. In the context of redevelopment, this means ostensibly those local politicians and local businesses that have been active in determining the aims and objectives of the redevelopment process. However, this thesis argues that there exists a gap in theorising urban regimes, which has yet to be examined. If it follows that membership of the regime enables groups to help determine redevelopment aims and objectives, then, by default, any group that is not a member of the regime will not have their needs and demands recognised directly. The absence of a formal contribution from community groups and associations into local governance needs to be a central issue in theorising urban regimes.

Having begun to examine local governance and social regulation, studying local communities provides a context for social regulation and highlights the nature of power relations between local structures of politics, business and community - further detailed in Chapter Three. By identifying which groups have the power to determine redevelopment objectives and distribution of benefits, this chapter proceeds by identifying a fundamental inequality

between those within local regimes and those excluded. Importantly, this section argues that the exclusion of a formal community input from decision-making processes within local governance regimes is as influential over redevelopment objectives (albeit indirectly) as the input of those who are included.

Most literature examining communities and urban change, that also encompasses redevelopment, overlooks the issue of power and inequality by focusing instead, to varying extents, on cultural changes. Using concepts such as 'cultural capital' (O'Byrne, 1997) and basing studies on people's lifestyles (Fennell, 1997) or patterns of communication (McBeath and Webb, 1997), there is a tendency to overlook the influence of power relations within localities. Without such analysis, the studies look primarily at the relationship between communities and the *product* of change (be it broad economic change or more specific phenomena such as redevelopments) rather than the *process* of change. Although this has spawned debates concerning 'community empowerment' (O'Byrne, 1997; Nevin and Shiner, 1995) as a reaction to urban change, such debates address neither why communities are excluded in the first place nor the continued imbalance of urban power. Essentially, such empowerment projects can only work as long as local authorities agree to recognise them (Watt, Higgins and Kendrick, 2000) or communities work with the limited resources already in their possession (North, 1996). Whilst forming an

interesting body of research, this overlooks how communities relate to the process and dynamics of change.

Examining power and inequality in relation to communities therefore, Harvey (1987) initially identifies how limited access to the means of production accounts for working class communities' inability to determine their surroundings. Eisenschitz (1997: 166) largely supports this by acknowledging 'institutional structures of power that channel the flow of economic resources'. In addition to Eisenschitz's recognition of economic resources as a means of production, the case studies further highlight the importance of land control and 'governing capacity' (Stoker, 1995). Specifically relating this to the redevelopment process therefore, Schaechter and Loftman's (1997) study of redevelopment in Newtown, north Birmingham briefly examines the exclusion of communities from determining regeneration priorities.

Unfortunately, Schaechter and Loftman's work alone fails to redress the balance of literature that overwhelmingly studies communities in terms of how they relate to the redevelopments as an end-product, rather than the process lying behind the end-product. Importantly however, this does highlight how there are two distinct themes within studying communities and redevelopment. In light of this, the case studies, firstly, locate communities within a broader local power structure, and, secondly, study

how the BSRA and Merry Hill differ in terms of community relations to both the process *and* product of redevelopment.

Studying communities in relation to the redevelopments thereby raises the potentially elusive issues of exclusion and alienation. Debates surrounding exclusion are varied and, at times, vague concerning definitions and applicability. Highlighting this problem, Barry (1998: 3) states that, typically, studies of exclusion have overlooked structural causes and focused instead on working class communities being 'poor and criminal, dangerous, disturbed, work-shy and idle... welfare dependent, promiscuous and predominately young'. Healey (1998: 54) is similarly aware of the debate's shortcomings, commenting that 'the phrase [social exclusion] is commonly being used to imply that some people and some neighbourhoods are drifting away from the norms of society as a whole'. Such methodological individualism can ultimately be rationalised within the identification by Murray (1984) of an underclass of people who have become detached from social relations, 'prefer[ing] to depend on welfare benefits or illicit earnings rather than seeking employment' (Room cited in Pacione, 1997b: 54). Problematically, such definitions not only abstract communities from broader power structures such as local governance, they also imply some degree of lifestyle/consumption choices, of which there is little evidence. Alternatively, by adopting a more structuralist position, involvement in political decision-making is identifiable as an important area of exclusion (Madanipour, 1998; Bartley, 1998). Consequently, 'without a clear

definition of exactly what people are being excluded from (bearing in mind that society has no boundaries), the term “social exclusion” becomes problematic and a solution difficult to find’ (Barry, 1998: 5). It is for this reason that Schaechter and Loftman’s work is so important, because it begins to acknowledge the significance of local structural relations.

Importantly, despite awareness of structural relations, there does need to be a balance provided from agential analyses of how community members relate to the redevelopments. Exclusion from determining redevelopment priorities creates a situation whereby people from local communities can feel a sense of alienated from the redevelopments. In this context, alienation is a useful concept to define a state of consciousness potentially that results from exclusion and acts as a means of defining people’s relationship with their environment. In terms of this research, the case studies show how residents from Ladywood felt a high degree of alienation from the BSRA, while residents in Dudley Borough actively used Merry Hill and even though there were disparaging remarks made about the centre there was little evidence of local people feeling alienated.

The concept of alienation has, however, been rarely used in contemporary studies of redevelopment, despite the potential for many working class communities to feel out of place in many redevelopments that feature an agenda of ‘class cleansing’ (Eisenschitz, 1997: 154).

Attempting to provide a starting point in defining alienation, Marx examined the worker's experience of production as an alien object, with the concept subsequently expanded to include social relations beyond the immediate confines of the workplace (McLellan, 1977) – echoing how debates surrounding Fordism/post-Fordism have also expanded beyond the confines of the workplace. In this vein, alienation is useful when examining local people's relationship to the redevelopments as a site of production and consumption, as well as an arena of social relations.

Developing Marx's theories in a contemporary context, alienation has been used to define political disempowerment and problems associated with urban poverty (Power, 1996; Robson, 2000; Cooper, 1991; Tittle and Stafford, 1992; Tittle, 1989). However, its limited usage in analysing urban change, particularly co-ordinated urban change such as redevelopment strategies, makes it something of an unknown quantity. Despite this, its theoretical potential and ability to identify experiences of structural relations makes it an essential element of analysis.

In summary, this thesis argues that exclusion defines community relations with structural barriers limiting involvement in the redevelopment *process*, while alienation defines the nature of experiences between local people and the redevelopment *product*.

2.5, Local governance as a site of local social regulation

Having examined debates surrounding regimes and looked at how this might relate to communities studied in the subsequent case studies, the structure of local governance needs further examining in terms of social regulation, as opposed to a set of discrete events, thereby

‘analys[ing] both the consequences of a particular mode of regulation for the nature of local governance and the role that the structure and practices of local governance play in processes of regulation’ (Goodwin and Painter, 1996: 643).

An essential difference between Merry Hill and Broad Street was the initial relationship between the public and private sectors and the extent to which they share a common view of capital accumulation and social regulation. This raises an important sociological question regarding how local governance as a site of local social regulation determines the redevelopment process.

To answer this question it is first necessary to examine the nature of local governance as a site of regulation. This involves identifying a series of areas where local governance in Birmingham and Dudley Borough has, to refer back to the previous chapter,

‘regulated... a given accumulation regime through... law, state policy, political practices, industrial codes, governance philosophies, rules of negotiations and

bargaining, cultures of consumption and social expectations' (Amin, 1994: 8).

The importance of identifying these areas of local governance regulation is that it recognises local variations by virtue of their different combinations and characters.

2.5.1, Political restructuring

An initial difference between redevelopments was whether local authorities supported or not an expansion of the service sector as a form of capital accumulation (Lowe, 1993; Imrie and Thomas, 1995). Despite operating within the constraints of a national political framework (Lowe, 1993; Loftman and Nevin, 1992), local governance clearly retained a degree of political autonomy. Hence, this raises the question of how much influence local political configurations had over social regulation?

Underpinning many of the changes in local governance was the political restructuring of local authorities; partly determined by the national political climate. Consequently, the restructuring of local political objectives formed a 'site of regulation' that covered neo-liberal ideologies and entrepreneurial discourses (Goodwin and Painter, 1996: 644).

As with many redevelopments, local authority political restructuring led to a diversity of public-private relations around bureaucracy, channels of communication, and division of responsibilities. Therefore, locality is a significant level of analysis for two reasons. Firstly, local authorities and local businesses illustrate 'a relatively fixed and immobile territorial organisation'. Secondly, Brenner (1999a: 432) identifies that localities demonstrate how neo-liberalism is expressed through a variety of 'territorial organisation[s] on multiple geographic scales'. Hence, while global and national factors undoubtedly influence local governance, political regulation highlights how it retains a relative autonomy.

Staying with this theme, Paddison (1997) argues that there has been a redefining of relations between the state and the local population through 'the spread of neo-liberalism'. Whilst somewhat of an exaggeration as many local authorities that supported redevelopment strategies were far from neo-liberal, Paddison does highlight the ability of local authorities to restructure their political aims and objectives. Subsequently, Paddison identifies this redefining in three areas of local governance activity that lie behind new demands for marketing, investment in construction, and support for new areas of economic activity. The first of these is the promotion of local development strategies. Central to development strategies in many regions was an urban redevelopment programme that enabled economic diversification. Secondly, Paddison identifies an increased focus on economic rather than social regeneration. Whilst being a harder argument to

prove, a variety of literature points to changes in local authority spending policies being shaped by economic rather than welfare objectives (Byrne, 1995b; Loftman and Nevin, 1992). Thirdly, Paddison points to a diversity of members influencing objectives, including presumably, the objectives of local redevelopment.

In terms of the urban redevelopments, a major expression of these changes was the development of an enterprise culture (Deakin and Edwards, 1993; Corner and Harvey, 1991). Although Deakin and Edwards comment that it is a hard concept to define, they believe the increased role of the private sector in addressing social problems of poverty and unemployment illustrates its presence. Pacione (1997b) describes associated changes in local authority policies as a move from 'wealth distribution' to one of 'wealth creation'.

In relation to redevelopment, Albrechts (1991) identifies the private sector gaining increased control over local planning as being a significant factor in such trends, with the subsequent case studies showing this to be due to local authorities not having capital resources to redevelop the regions. Illustrating political changes occurring in Britain during the 1980s, this reflects changes in private sector activity (Deakin and Edwards, 1993) as well as a view of local authorities being lumbering and bureaucratic (Hastings, 1999). Urban policy objectives including Enterprise Zones and Urban Development Corporations illustrated this happening on a national level (Lowe, 1993;

Imrie and Thomas, 1995) whilst local governance autonomy led to a diverse range of locally specific strategies (Carley, 1991; Bassett, 1996).

Importantly for this thesis, it is necessary to place local political restructuring within a context that relates to redevelopment such as planning. Traditionally, local authorities dominated redevelopment programmes through planning policies and controls (Albrechts, 1991; Cherry, 1994). However, as local planning objectives became 'more subservient to the simultaneous needs and demands of capital' (Albrechts, 1991: 123) there were two notable areas of change. Firstly, there was a redefined division of responsibilities between groups involved in local governance. Secondly, redevelopment's catalyst of economic decline emphasises the role of economic relations in determining local governance objectives. Hence, local authorities and developers identified urban redevelopment as a means to achieve economic regeneration.

Having argued that new forms of local governance are dependent on local authority political restructuring, this raises the question of how new political ideologies come about. The previous chapter argued that national political changes influenced localities, especially the series of Conservative governments during the 1980s that heralded a period of dramatic political change.

One means by which central government ideologies influenced localities was through urban policy. For example, with reference to Birmingham, declining central government grants helped steer the City Council into partnership with the private sector (Loftman and Nevin, 1992). In addition to financial constraints, urban policy influenced local redevelopment strategies through rate capping, Urban development Corporations, Enterprise Zones, and the requirement of private sector involvement to receive grants (Ward, 1996; Bassett, 1996; Loftman and Nevin, 1996). A good example of this in the thesis is the use of Enterprise Zones, which allowed developers at Merry Hill to bypass local authority planning controls. Arguing that central government viewed local authorities as overly bureaucratic (Hastings, 1999; Deakin and Edwards, 1993); many central government objectives disempowered local authorities with the aim of providing local entrepreneurs with a deregulated opportunity to invest.

Examining the relationship between central government ideologies and local political restructuring, as well as helping to contextualise the study of urban regimes, Cochrane, Peck and Tickell (1996) and Ward (1996) examine what they term 'new urban politics'. Identifying a move away from the local state's focus on welfare and towards entrepreneurial business leadership, local authorities are recognised as being responsive (rather than reactive) to economic change as well as national political changes.

However, new forms of local governance only come into being successfully when local authorities are themselves committed to new aims and objectives, rather than through coercion. Identifying this difference, a key word that crops up in Cochrane et al's work is 'entrepreneurial'. Local authorities are characterised as moving away from municipal welfarism and towards entrepreneurial strategies that involve being conducive to the needs of business and recognising the private sector as the basis for regeneration. Implicit in this position is the logic that crisis is economic in origin and therefore best dealt with by economic actors. Similarly, there is a belief that local authorities can only stifle such entrepreneurialism through bureaucracy (Deakin and Edwards, 1993). Urban redevelopments at Birmingham and Dudley Borough were consequently prime examples of new urban politics in action, with the private sector taking an increased role in decision-making and central government constructing a neo-liberal political environment within which local authorities operated.

Despite the importance of economic relations, the political aspect of local governance regimes showed politics was not subservient to the economy. Instead, political restructuring was a complementary element to economic restructuring in local governance. Cochrane et al relate their analysis of such issues debate to Manchester's failed Olympic bid in the 1990s, providing a model that is applicable to many other local authorities. The crucial theme is how local actors formulate political objectives in the shadow of national political changes.

In summary, the redevelopments represented attempts to enable new local regimes of capital accumulation. However, these regimes also required complementary support from the local authority if they were to be sustainable. This is evident at Merry Hill, where without support from the local authority, capital accumulation was limited by an inability to expand and poor integration with its environment. Overall, political ideology forms a cornerstone of local regulation because of its overarching view of economic activity that enables the private sector to operate.

2.5.2, Local regulation of economic objectives

Examining the economic goals of local governance, ideological changes such as the emergence of an enterprise culture dictated a primacy of profit over welfare. Underpinning this were changes in public spending, with new aims encouraging new patterns of private sector investment. Mayer (1994) points out that, traditionally, local authorities adopted a welfarist philosophy, with social rather than economic factors determining public spending objectives. Mayer (1994) goes on to examine how local authorities changed their approach to economic activity by supporting development strategies that involved public spending to attract private investment. The justification that public spending would ‘lever’ private investment into the region and create

jobs and prosperity was expounded most energetically by Birmingham City Council. Ultimately though, this is a rather dubious policy and at best a gamble because, firstly, it relies on the private sector to distribute local benefits and, secondly, because employment patterns in the service sector undermine the link between employment and prosperity.

Despite this simplification of local authority objectives, prior to recession and political restructuring in the early 1980s, there was an overall trend of targeting public money at areas deemed to be in 'need' (Deakin and Edwards, 1993; Greenwood and Wilson, 1994). Deakin and Edwards subsequently define 'need' in terms of social deprivation addressed through social and urban policies. Therefore, although local authorities traditionally embraced a range of objectives, social equity remained central. However, contemporary redevelopment projects have focused on expanding local service sector economies, with the significant difference between contemporary redevelopments and old projects being that new redevelopments develop new economic relations rather than cement existing relations.

With this aim of developing new economic relations in mind, contemporary local authority objectives feature a tenuous link to social equity. Exemplified by the redevelopment process, local authority objectives identify a chain of events whereby increased business activity leads to greater local prosperity. Within the realms of new political logic, this forms an

alternative to previous 'welfarist' patterns of spending. Urban policy transformations embody this shift in political rationale and allow private enterprise to benefit from public money. As such, a local authority's active involvement in redevelopments is based around new forms of capital accumulation, which are indicative of deeper political changes.

Looking for the roots of this change, Sabel (1984) identifies economic changes within production since the late 1970s and early 1980s being the major challenge to this 'welfarist' position. Initially, this illustrates how local redevelopment strategies constitute one aspect of political restructuring with an aim of restructuring economic relations. Furthermore, Sabel believes decline in traditional economy results in central government being unable to co-ordinate social and economic policies in a nation-wide manner. Placing greater emphasis on local economic and political actors to develop strategies for economic regeneration, this supports Esser and Hirsch's (1989) view that local rather than national responses to economic restructuring are important.

Subsequently, Mayer's analysis of local governance's economic goals focuses on the 'subordination of social policies to economic and labour market policies' (1994: 317). Additionally, Amin and Tomaney (1991) show how local economic regulation involves local governments sanctioning public money to encourage private developments. Amidst debates concerning the delivery and nature of social equity, local authority emphasises

on new economic objectives obscures the validity of such policies. Amin and Tomaney comment:

‘The vision is not an unfamiliar one, echoing, as it does, urban regeneration initiatives in certain other advanced economies - public money for private sector led improvements geared to turning the city into a play-pen and centre for consumption for citizens to recast as potential entrepreneurs, professionals and model workers with insatiable appetites for marinas, garden festivals, “Chinatowns” and “theatre villages”. For the traditional working class and unemployed whose role as entrepreneurs and consumers is unclear, the welfare state and planning, it seems, are to be replaced with philanthropic gestures.’ (1991: 486)

Behind such moves appears to be an implicit, though misguided, belief that economic regeneration and local stability are synonymous. Boyer identifies ‘thirty glorious years’ of post-war economic growth due to ‘the more or less synchronised, simultaneous evolution of the norms of production and consumption’ (1990: 73-4).

Forming a basis to argue that the expansion of the service sector as a method of economic regeneration is a specific attempt to regain local stability, the kaleidoscope of out-of-town shopping centres, business districts and leisure complexes developed mainly in ‘post-industrial’ regions during the 1980s becomes increasingly significant and generalisable. From this perspective, the role of the private sector in redevelopment projects links the development of the service sector with changes in urban policy.

In summary, economic goals within local governance influenced methods of local regulation concerning public spending, welfare and the activities of the private sector. In terms of the redevelopment process and the change from a manufacturing to service sector economy, these were central factors in the local mode of regulation. Whilst economic goals were constrained by patterns of ‘extra-local’ accumulation, there was a distinct political element concerning welfare and decisions regarding public spending. These highlight not only the relative autonomy of local governance, but also the role of local social regulation in enabling new patterns of capital accumulation to flourish.

2.5.3, Local labour market regulation

This chapter has so far examined political and economic regulation within the context of local governance. However, another major issue surrounding the expansion of the service sector is change in the local labour market, with Mayer (1994) identifying local governance policies and objectives as instrumental in bringing about labour market changes. Placing this in the context of this research, the decline of traditional economies indirectly led to the expansion of the service sector; thus leading to claims that economic decline was a catalyst. As such, increased long-term local unemployment was a starting point for redevelopment strategies that aimed to develop new patterns of capital accumulation.

During the 1980s and 1990s, notable increases in female participation in the labour market within part-time and service sector work matched a decline in traditional, male-orientated, full-time work (Green, 1997; Turok, 1999). Raising questions concerning the relationship between a changing workforce and urban redevelopment, the decline of traditional industries such as metal production as well as vehicle and component manufacturing led to increased unemployment as the predominantly male, full-time workforce became redundant. This led to service sector expansion as a local strategy for economic diversification in places such as Birmingham and Dudley Borough. Accompanying this expansion of the service sector came an expansion of female dominated, part-time workers, such as at Merry Hill (Department of Environment, 1993a).

Relative to local governance and the labour market, there was a shift in policies towards bringing about labour market flexibility. Expansion within TECs, Chamber of Commerce training and training academies was all evidence of the drive to regulate the skills of the labour market to fit in with the new economy. Mayer (1994: 320) characterises the trend as a move away from 'unemployment compensation' and towards 'job creation and retraining programmes'.

It therefore comes as no surprise that Byrne (1997) places local governance policies at the forefront of labour market changes, reflecting the increased

role of private sector demands within local governance. Recognising particular trends, Byrne highlights the decline of trade unions, the use of a reserve army of labour and the provision of 'low level training'. Essentially, many of these trends illustrate the demands of the private sector to lower labour costs that challenge capital accumulation.

Ultimately, it is necessary to ask why it is important to study local labour markets rather than generic social relations of production. Addressing this issue, Peck (1996: 11) identifies a limited study of local labour markets in the rush to produce grand theorisations of social relations. He argues that:

'If social institutions matter in the functioning and reproduction of labour markets, then it follows that local labour markets matter, for this is the scale at which labour is mobilised and reproduced'.

In relation to the BSRA and Merry Hill, this is important for two reasons. Firstly, local variations in the labour market illustrated attempts to construct a local mode of regulation. Secondly, this identified the labour market as having locally determinable qualities, the central source of which being local governance. Therefore, this recognises a degree of autonomy for local governance whilst still recognising broader trends of labour market restructuring.

Relating Peck's work to this thesis, there were clear local variations in the labour market after urban redevelopments came into being, with local

governance objectives shaping such variations through the redevelopment process. Using regulation theory, and drawing on the work of Massey (1984), it is possible to show that capital accumulation had distinct geographical boundaries.

Overall, Peck (1996: 106) draws three conclusions that provide a basis for understanding how local governance regulates the labour market. Firstly, complex socio-institutional processes regulate local labour markets. In relation to this thesis, this included the construction of public-private partnerships that lay behind the redevelopments. Secondly, the outcome of these processes is geographically varied. Looking again at the redevelopment process, geographical variations occur if those involved have strong political or economic connections to a particular region. Finally, there is a rejection of cause and effect relations within the labour market, pointing instead to a conscious planned mode of regulation. This final point is the most important of all because it identifies the redevelopment process as an outcome of political and economic relations. As such, it recognises that the redevelopments are not the cause of economic diversification or new employment structures. Instead, the redevelopments are a tool by which political and economic actors within localities are able to regulate local economic and labour market activity to support a new regime of accumulation.

2.5.4, Local imagery

So far, this chapter has argued that contemporary local governance is a result of political restructuring, leading to urban redevelopment as a means to regulate the economy and the labour market - remembering that stability is a consequence of complementarity between regulation and accumulation. However, a notable aspect of local economic change evident in the case studies is less reliance on exports and more importance attached to attracting investment and visitors. Areas of regulation examined so far concern local politics, investment and labour, problematically, this fails to account for the regulation of the locality's image as a tool to attract inward investment and visitors by re-inventing urban areas and challenging existing perceptions of what visitors might expect. The imagery of smokestack chimneys and concrete jungles has, to an extent, disadvantaged Birmingham and Dudley Borough in their quest to attract visitors, thus raising the issue of how the redevelopments have been used as a tool to re-image the localities is linked to their role as bases for new economies. This does not entail the construction of an accurate reflection of life in places such as Birmingham or Dudley Borough, but a sanitised and prosperous image for visitors.

To begin addressing this issue, place marketing (Fretter, 1993; Van den Berg and Braun, 1999; Waitt, 1999; Paddison, 1993) has formed a fundamental site of local governance and regulation for two major reasons. Firstly, it represents the epitome of public-private partnership as both local authorities

and businesses often carry out local marketing jointly. This has been the case most notably in Birmingham, where institutions such as Birmingham Marketing Partnership and Birmingham City 2000 market the city in conjunction with City Council marketing publications such as Update. This reflects a range of social, economic and political benefits gained from renewal and redevelopment.

Secondly, place marketing is an activity carefully planned in response to local changes. Importantly, this highlights how the redevelopments act as a basis to market the region and identifies a distinction between advertising and marketing used within this thesis. Companies operating within the redevelopments advertise, in the same the way that they would if they were located elsewhere. However, place marketing based on the success of the redevelopments goes beyond the interests of individual companies. Instead, private and public sector bodies, often in partnership, portray this success as an illustration of generic regional success, with new aesthetics and cultural events associated with urban redevelopment challenging rust-belt images.

Demonstrating the importance of local governance, marketing is a significant feature of local social regulation. In looking for a definition of place marketing, Boyle (1999: 55) defines it as ‘efforts made by local elites to refashion collective emotion and consciousness within cities in order to legitimate political [and presumably economic] projects that function primarily for their interests.’

Locating this in the context of a response to crisis, Fretter (1993) points out there has been an increased prominence of place marketing since economic decline the early 1980s. Emphasising the local aspect to marketing, local agencies plan and carry it out, although the concept of local remains problematic when considering the effects on other regions. The reason for this increase lies in local strategies to combat crises, consequently, place marketing reflects the rise of 'entrepreneurialism' and 'market-orientated local governance' (Van Den Berg and Braun, 1999).

Amid a climate of economic decline, Fretter identifies an increased competition for resources, including customers. In addition to the search for customers, place marketing is a tool to reinvent, culturally and socially, regions that have become associated with a rust-belt image of decay, social problems and concrete jungles. From this starting point, Fretter identifies a series of essential features of place marketing.

Firstly, place marketing involves identifying a target-image. In constructing this image, Fretter points out that even if this is a completely new image, it involves aspects of the past. This is supported by Sadler (1992: 182) who states that even though images of the past, such as hard work and industry, are included in these new images they are 'de-politicised' to show the Victorian industrialist as a paternal capitalist.

Secondly, Fretter notes that place marketing involves being aware of the region's strengths and weaknesses when identifying potential 'customers'. Aware of the nature of economic and demographic changes in the area, this points to a conscious attempt to regulate the local social and economic formation. Supporting Fretter's position, Hubbard states that areas affected by economic decline were consequently:

'Left with little alternative than to re-invent their city image as a prelude to the establishment of a new urban economy... It is important to note that this manipulation of image is not only an attempt to make the city more attractive to external investors, but also plays a role in a "social control" logic, convincing local peoples as to the benevolence of entrepreneurial strategies.' (1996: 1443)

Fretter's (1993) third point concerns the ability of the 'managers' of the redevelopment to adapt and meet the needs of the 'customer'. This relates to the increased level of competition for resources and the need to achieve economic stability. Fretter finishes by pointing out that this often includes what may be described as the ability to 'sloganise' the locality that is being marketed. Fretter therefore sums up the whole place marketing phenomena as 'presenting positive images to boost private sector confidence and the direct selling of relocation and development opportunities.' (1993: 173)

Relating place marketing to local governance, Paddison (1997) argues that local authorities require the assistance of the private sector in order to be successful. From this, Paddison concludes there is a distinct political

element to the marketing process, with subsequent political implications for the locality as part of a new entrepreneurialism.

In summary, place marketing is a fundamental site of local regulation because it portrays an image of the region to potential visitors. This is important as the economy increasingly relies on visitors and less on exports. It is also important in its promotion of urban imagery to local people, reflecting a changing demographic profile of people within town and city centres. Along with the format of local redevelopments, marketing can contribute towards whether local people feel alienated and excluded from the redevelopments. Overall, place marketing advocates and reflects new patterns of consumption and shows how responses to crisis have become increasingly localised.

2.6, Summary

In summary, the central argument of this thesis is that while global and national factors determined common ground between the redevelopments, it was local factors that determined differences. Within this framework, Chapter Two identifies local governance as a central site in establishing differences between the two redevelopments.

The study of local governance is located within the theoretical framework of regulation theory outlined in chapter one. As such, local governance is a particular site of regulation, covering a variety of themes examined in section 2.2. It is variations in these themes that can be recognised as determining differences between the redevelopment processes. Furthermore, subsequent chapters address the omission of issues around community exclusion.

Taking stock of the thesis so far, Chapters One and Two raise a series of theoretical issues, the major theme of this being that Britain, as with other Western economies, has experienced significant decline in manufacturing and industrial economies. This is located within the context of regulation theory, which develops base-superstructure theory to identify patterns of economic activity and distinct trends within the realm of socio-political relations. Useful in the study of urban redevelopment, it shows the redevelopments as indicative of broad social and economic changes. The issue of urban redevelopment, as well as being indicative of accumulation and regulation, also identifies how such changes are experienced in a local setting. With this in mind, analyses of local regimes demonstrate a local context to social regulation.

Having theorised these events, the next step is to examine how they manifest at Broad Street and Merry Hill. Consequently, the thesis proceeds by examining methodological issues, followed by the two case studies. The

case studies provide evidence of issues raised in the first two chapters and form a basis for the analysis in Chapter Six.

Chapter Three

Methodological issues relating to the analysis of Merry Hill and Broad Street redevelopments

3.1, Introduction

Having so far reviewed current literature and examined theoretical issues, the research's next (and most important) aim is to use these theories as a framework for a sociological comparison of the two redevelopments. A synthesis of theoretical and empirical data thereby lies at the heart of this research and is important in locating the redevelopments in a context of global and national trends. With this in mind, Chapter Three therefore answers two essential questions. Firstly, how to synthesise theoretical and empirical data, and secondly, what considerations need to be taken into account when constructing case studies.

Having previously examined sociological debates regarding economic and political restructuring in relation to urban redevelopment, this chapter sets out a research strategy of investigation as well as formulating a series of research objectives that guide the empirical data contained in the two case studies. It therefore comes as no surprise that Edwards and Talbot (1994)

state that selecting the correct methods is as important as selecting the right research question.

The research subsequently uses case studies to examine similarities in the redevelopments' backgrounds as well as to identify locally specific issues. Hence, a series of interviews were used to examine the activities and rationale of various local actors, enabling analysis of how local business and local politics responded to global and national changes. Additionally, this also provides an insight into local community perceptions of the redevelopment process.

3.2, Methodological concerns

The first part of this chapter examines the philosophical and methodological issues that underpin the thesis's structure and approach. Initially, this involves identifying a unit of analysis, or defining the specific focus of enquiry. Despite appearing to be obvious that the unit of analysis is the redevelopment areas, the thesis needs to understand the influence of (and account for) global and national factors clearly outside the redevelopments geographically, but very much part of them socially, politically and economically.

Having identified a unit of analysis, the next step is to conceptualise the relationship between theory and evidence, particularly the way in which one informs the other. Importantly, this thesis is neither theory-led nor empirically-led, but instead a dynamic combination of theory identifying areas of empirical study and this study reflecting back and informing the use of theory. The works of Layder (1993; 1998) and Mason (1996) outline specific methodological models that are developed upon within the context of this study.

Finally, the issue of agency and structure is addressed, specifically asking how it is possible to have an analysis of both agents *and* structures without leading to ontological or epistemological confusion. Whilst there exists many deterministic accounts of urban redevelopment, a key feature of this research is, therefore, to identify how structural relations have led to a situation whereby there is a demand for redevelopment strategies. Furthermore, it is also acknowledged that redevelopments are partly determined by structural relations, particularly on a local level. Ultimately however, these structures contain individual agents who are swayed by personal politics, diverse ideologies, specific desires, and flawed understandings of how structures such as politics and the economy work.

3.2.1, Unit of Analysis

Whilst this research focuses on two specific urban redevelopments, the first task of this chapter is to identify unit of analysis, which Yin concisely states as a process of ‘defining what the case is’. Despite initially appearing to be a simple issue, Yin continues that it is ‘a problem that has plagued many investigators at the outset of case studies’ (1984: 31). Similarly on this point, MacLeod and Goodwin (1999) identify how important it is to define accurately the extent of local influence and locate this within a broad context of national politics.

Based on Yin’s work, the research began by defining the actual redevelopments as the primary unit of analysis, thereby providing a specific focus and a clear set of boundaries. Initially determined by the research objectives (see section 3.3.1), the primary unit of analysis therefore examined those local actors who directly influenced or significantly experienced the redevelopment process. Connecting the unit of analysis with the research objectives was vital to ensure case study material was capable of addressing the research objectives.

Hence, the case studies feature an examination of information relating to the role of the local authorities and local business as well as how they interact with each other in the construction of Merry Hill and Broad Street. The conceptualisation of locality remained problematic however, and was an

issue that needed addressing because while the central focus of the research was on the importance of local actors, it was possible also to identify influential events beyond local boundaries. Accordingly, Yin points out that ‘if the case is about a geographic area, decisions need to be made about public services whose districts do not coincide with the area’ (1984: 33). Consequently, the case studies needed to recognise the roles played by institutions and structures that operated outside the primary unit of analysis, yet still shaped local events.

Although Yin believes this to be problematic, an acceptance that the local redevelopments were never completely local became inevitable. Despite the redevelopments retaining specific histories, they also synthesised forces operating outside the localities, and so while the primary unit of analysis reflected the *relative* autonomy of local actors, secondary factors located local actors within a broad context of national and global trends.

To overcome the potential problem of constructing a unit of analysis for the case studies, Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) point out that cases need to be selected and defined according to the research objectives that they are serving. In the case of this thesis, this meant not only studying locally specific events, but also identifying how localities experienced a complexity of global and national events. Forming a central feature of the research, this allowed the case studies to be both examinations of local events as well as placing them in a generalisable context. Hammersley and Atkinson

continue with this point by raising the important issue of the case studies and research objectives being relatively dynamic in the relationship with each other:

‘This arises because in ethnographic research the development of the research problem is rarely completed before fieldwork begins; indeed, the collection of primary data often plays a key role in that process of development.’ (1983: 40)

Although looking expressly at ethnography, Hammersley and Atkinson’s points relate can be applied to all research containing a significant qualitative element. Within this unit of analysis there is, therefore, an acceptance that the redevelopments were not isolated from the rest of society and that outside influences form a part of the case study. However, this does not invalidate the case studies, as they remain an analysis of these forces and trends within a local setting. Therefore, the primary unit of analysis remained the redevelopment because the focus of the research was only upon those secondary factors that occurred within this boundary.

3.2.2, Case Studies and evidence

Having identified the unit of analysis, the next step was to put it into practice by constructing the case studies, which Yin (1984) defines as the study of ‘events within their real-life context’. Against this background, it was logical to study the redevelopments in a case study format, making the

methods generalisable with other studies and thoroughly investigating the redevelopments. Merry Hill and the BSRA represented clear examples of individual cases, in terms of both their boundaries and their relationship to economic, social and political influences. Therefore, two individual case studies were constructed. One for the Broad Street Redevelopment Area, including the International Convention Centre, Brindleyplace, the National Indoor Arena and leisure facilities along Broad Street, and another for the Merry Hill complex, including The Waterfront.

Themes and concepts examined in Chapter One and Chapter Two formed the basis for the case studies and allowed a detailed analysis of the two redevelopments in the light of theoretical issues already raised. The format of the case studies reflected the complex and diverse formation of the two centres, with a central theme of social change being common to both case studies.

Implicit in the construction of the case studies was an informed awareness of grounded theory (Layder, 1993) as a method of interpreting data and theory while shying away from all out acceptance of its principles. The selective use of grounded theory in this thesis entailed being aware of structural issues of power, capital and politics whilst also having no preconceptions regarding the results of the fieldwork. Although not subscribing to grounded theory itself, the philosophy that theory and case study material should integrate in a dynamic manner was fundamental to this research.

This was necessary firstly, for existing theory to develop, and secondly to identify generalisable factors not visible in fieldwork alone.

A useful development of grounded theory comes from Mason when she states that ‘theory, data generation and data analysis are developed simultaneously in a dialectical process’ (1996: 141). Through constructing what she terms ‘retroductive reasoning’, as a development of grounded theory, issues of flexibility and theory development remained constant. This was a more representative explanation of the way that this thesis is constructed. The underlying tenets of grounded theory featured heavily in this methodology by virtue of not taking sociological theory to be sacrosanct or beyond development. Therefore, there was a simultaneous development of theory and fieldwork, with the ultimate aim of developing both existing theory and existing understandings of local redevelopment processes. The advantage of using ‘retroductive reasoning’ was that it analysed the findings of the fieldwork within a theoretical framework, without which the fieldwork would only amount to a narrative of various people’s actions and views. Mason states:

‘Face-to-face activity is tied to specific situations and to the specific people involved. However, institutions are not just an “external” resource for people to draw on in formulating their behaviour, they also directly enter into activity in the form of actors’ reasons and motivations.’ (Mason, 1996: 57-8)

This makes the retroductive method a useful tool for case study analysis as it provides a method of integrating theory and fieldwork without being deterministic.

As a development of, Mason's work, Layder's analysis of 'power resources' (1993: 59-60) was useful by identifying the economy and politics as structures that could not be understood through fieldwork alone. This was not to imply any sort of theoretical determinism however, as Layder emphasised the importance of fieldwork 'directed at the goal of theory generation' (1993: 61). Layder further develops this idea of integrating theory and methods in his formulation of 'adaptive theory' (1998), a methodology that features awareness of the importance of both theory and empirical data. Believing the gap between theory and data to be too wide in contemporary sociology, Layder set out to produce a methodology which

'Combine[s] the use of pre-existing theory and theory generated from data analysis in the formulation and actual conduct of empirical research... The adaptive part of the term is meant to suggest that the theory both adapts to, or is shaped by, incoming evidence at the same time as the data themselves are filtered through (and adapted to) the extant theoretical materials that are relevant and at hand.' (1998: 1/38).

Consequently, adaptive theory represents a blend of deductive and inductive research methodologies, with Layder stating that the 'exact blend depends on circumstances' (1998: 134). Applying such a stance to this thesis, sociological theories were examined contemporaneously with initial

investigations of the redevelopments' histories and actors. From this position, the theories examined in Chapter One and Chapter Two underpinned the research objectives as well as the focus and content of the case studies. The increasingly focused case studies then led to the theories also becoming more focused and preliminary research questions evolved into research objectives. The process is similar to Mason's in terms of its dialectical approach, though Layder is more specific about how this process occurs.

This raises questions concerning the nature of knowledge, especially in relation to concepts of inequality and power, and how this thesis identifies valid forms of knowledge. The main issue regards whether knowledge of a phenomenon, such as inequality or power, comes from specific experiences or from a more objective approach based on logic and theory. This underpins the choice of methods for this research, with theory providing an objective definition of inequality based on generalisable features, whilst the interview data illustrated subjective experiences. In addition to this, the interviews provided an objective account of policies and a subjective illustration of their rationale and background.

With this in mind, the thesis identifies the presence of structural relations whilst still being aware of the human role within these structures. Not only did this prevent these structures being reified, it also recognised that the redevelopment process was far from being a logical, objective phenomenon.

The understanding of a political economy within this thesis covers the conflict present between the demands of the economy and its political management. As such, this thesis adopts an epistemological argument that redevelopments are experienced and understood in a subjective manner, but within the context of objective structural relations. Hence, the redevelopment process encapsulates many dimensions of social reality, including an individualistic level as well as factors that 'exist externally to particular individuals, groups and situations' (Layder, 1998: 140).

3.2.3, Agents and structures

Having decided to use case studies, a significant theme was how to understand the activities of local actors within the context of global and national issues. In order to achieve this end, there needed to be awareness of how the thesis balanced the influence of agents and structures. The need for balance is further emphasised by Soja's (1997) identification of an increased amount of analysis rejecting a structuralist approach in understanding the city, despite a notable tradition of structural analyses of urban power and conflict.

As such, one of the essential challenges of this research was to locate local experiences of change within broader structural relations. Emphasising

structural relations as a notional starting point, Heilbrunner (1995: 884)

notes that:

‘Art, culture, civil society, or good government may be the most highly regarded social achievements... [However] ...all of them rest on a foundation of social provisioning in whose absence none could long endure. In that sense, the economy is indeed the base, to use Marx’s term, on which rests the superstructure of other attainments.’

Bearing this in mind, the case studies explore not only the economic base, but also the complementary role of the superstructure in the form of local social regulation. Chapters One and Two began to show how this became increasingly localised as traditional regimes of accumulation faltered. Furthermore, the localised mode of regulation emphasises responses of local actors, not just as a knee-jerk reaction to global and national events, but with a degree of autonomy that highlights why it is important to study local agents - though still within the context of global and national phenomena.

Developing an overall methodology, the case studies situate urban relations within a wider context by examining how global and national factors shaped the redevelopment process. As such, despite some aspects of the research showing the redevelopments in experiential terms, such as with local communities, there remains awareness that this was an outcome of structural relations. Consequently, the case studies identify local experiences of global and national changes, with Hannigan pointing out that:

‘Theme parks and urban entertainment centres [and, presumably, urban redevelopments] may well be supercharged with a postmodern aura but most people only visit them occasionally. Residents of gentrified neighbourhoods may be frequent postmodern consumers... but they make up a much smaller fraction of the inner city than is commonly suggested.’ (1995: 202)

Overall, this supports the view that the sociological gaze is staring too exclusively at the urban changes themselves (Hannigan, 1995; Edwards, 1997), rather than the redevelopments being illustrative of changes highlighted in Chapters One and Two. Inherent in this is a relationship between the past and the present, realising that ‘we must understand the new urbanisation and urbanism without discarding our older understanding’ (Soja, 1997: 20). This, therefore, reasserts the position that there can only be a full understanding of the city, and therefore redevelopment, when there is an understanding of socio-economic structural influences *as well as* a diversity of local experiences. Soja (1997) consequently rejects the unstructured, micro-perspective as being ‘unproductive’.

Overall, the thesis uses a combination of structural and agential analyses to examine how global economic restructuring and the relative autonomy of local actors were synthesised within the redevelopment process. This synthesis of local events with an overview of global and national events was necessary to prevent what Charlesworth and Cochrane identify as a weakness in much of the current literature:

‘Much locality-based research has found it difficult to move beyond the geographical boundaries which it uses to define its objects of study’ (1997: 219).

3.3, Methods and practice

Having examined a series of methodological issues, the next step is to develop these into a practical model that will underpin the research process. The first step is to formulate research objectives, whilst the unit of analysis determined the focus of enquiry, it was the research objectives that refined and specified that focus. With these research objectives in mind and an awareness of the relationship between theory and data, the chapter proceeds by identifying sources of data and expanding on the subject of interviews.

3.3.1, Formulating research objectives

The next question of this research is how to combine theoretical concerns from Chapters One and Two and methodological issues highlighted above into a workable framework for analysing the redevelopments. Answering this question requires a set of research objectives that will, firstly, identify important areas of theory and, secondly, relate them to the study of urban redevelopment.

The first research objective below aims to examine the extent to which local experiences of economic decline formed a common background to urban redevelopment. Subsequently, after recognising this similarity and the need to explain differences, a next objective is to assess how locally specific factors determined differences. Focusing, therefore, on local factors and the influence of social regulation and local governance regimes, the third research objective is to investigate how the exclusion of a formal community role from regimes affected objectives of the redevelopment processes. The final research objective is to gauge the extent to which redevelopment strategies were a method of regaining local stability, thus locating the three previous research objectives within a context of stability and crisis discussed in Chapter One.

3.3.1a, Research objective 1: Economic decline as a catalyst for redevelopment

From the previous two chapters is clear that there is much literature covering changes in global economic relations. Furthermore, there is also a wealth of studies examining changes in local economies and national political restructuring, particularly in terms of what has been generically termed the shift from production to consumption. Studying urban redevelopment processes in Birmingham and Dudley Borough, it is necessary to be aware of

not only global, national and local changes, but also the way they relate to one another. Implicit in these works is an awareness of stability and crisis illustrated by the configuration of economic and political forces, tying in with examinations of Fordism and post-Fordism that recognise the social implications of economic and political change.

Mapping out local experiences of global and national changes, the first research objective is to examine how global economic factors and national political restructuring manifested locally and the extent to which this formed a catalyst to local redevelopment.

3.3.1b, Research objective 2: Global common ground and local differences

The previous research objective drew attention to the complex inter-play of influences within the redevelopment process. However, despite this complexity, there remain notable areas of similarity concerning the decline of traditional economies and emergence of service sector economies and associated labour relations. Just as important is the presence of locally specific factors such as relations between local actors and the character of the redevelopments.

Despite evidence of this interplay of common and unique factors, there remains little literature to date that studies redevelopments in a comparative manner. This leaves a gap in current literature in explaining which factors are generalisable, which factors are unique, and the reasons - particularly in relation to spatiality. Having identified in Chapter One that there are global, national and local levels of analysis, a starting point is to recognise the extent to which global and national events are common to both redevelopments. The remaining differences therefore lie in the nature of local factors and how local actors respond to those 'extra-local' factors previously defined as underpinning common ground.

Arguing that redevelopments illustrate a synthesis of global, national and local concerns, the second research objective is to assess how global and national factors underpinned common ground between the two sites, while locally specific factors shaped differences. Importantly, the previous research objective will lead to analysis that social regulation has become increasingly localised in the wake of declining traditional economies. Case study evidence supports this position, showing that local actors have increasingly determined responses and regulation. As such, the localised nature of responses that made redevelopment strategies unique was an illustration of different configurations of local social regulation. Consequently, the case studies examine local social regulation in the context of regime formation and local governance.

3.3.1c, Research objective 3: Regime objectives and community exclusion

Redevelopment processes evidently affect all members of the locality, whether it is local authorities, businesses or those in local communities. However, the study of localities (and particularly change following economic decline) remains fragmented, with regime theories and social regulation examining those with power to make decisions, while a separate body of literature has examined local communities. Operating with distinct methodologies and agendas, their separation is a barrier to a holistic view of local relations.

Consequently, the next research objective concerns how the study of redevelopments can unite the study of both communities and regimes. The approach of this research is to study urban regimes not in isolation, but in the context of the locality. Hence, while the redevelopments provided a medium between various local actors, only certain local actors were able to control redevelopment strategies. Consequently, the urban regimes were not only important in terms of their internal formation and management, but also as an illustration of local power bases regarding the content, style, and general nature of the redevelopments.

As such, while relations between economic and political actors determined redevelopment strategies in a direct manner, the exclusion of a formal input from community agencies also determined regime objectives, though in an indirect manner. Therefore, the third research objective is to investigate how the aims of local governance regimes were influenced not only by those involved, but also by the exclusion of community agencies.

3.3.1d, Research objective 4: Redevelopment as an attempt to regain local stability

Implicit in understanding the duality of regulation and accumulation was the idea of complementarity between the two, thereby underpinning a ‘hegemonic structure’ (Esser and Hirsch, 1989). With this in mind, a major theme of the first two chapters was that there periods of stability and crisis within capitalism identify temporal and spatial boundaries of Fordism and post-Fordism.

Implicit in this research objective is the view that the redevelopments were specific responses to economic crises, inferring that crisis should be a starting point in the study of urban redevelopment. However, this is problematic because whilst the work of Hamilton and others identifies crisis

within accumulation, the case studies show how redevelopment strategies were also the product of political restructuring at national and local levels.

Therefore, this thesis argues that dominant definitions of crisis are too accumulation-based because they fail to recognise the significance of political and social crises arising within social regulation. The problem within existing literature therefore is that definitions of crisis, whilst being highly generalisable on a global level, do little to account for local variations and diversity of experience. As such, by using both regulation theory and regime theory, this thesis uses the concept of crisis generally, whilst also studying local events without abstracting them from wider issues. Identifying a major focus for the thesis, methodological confusion is avoided by having a singular definition of the ontology of crisis, while accepting that its diversity of experience means it can be experienced and manifested in a variety of settings.

With this in mind, the fourth and final research objective is to gauge the extent to which, following a period of crisis in certain localities, the redevelopment process was an attempt to regain stability. The reason for this is the fact that they involved a conscious response to economic decline that was limited in its effects to the region in which the regime operated. This supports previous claims that in the wake of declining traditional regimes of accumulation, social regulation became increasingly localised.

In summary, the research objectives for this thesis are:

- i. To examine how global economic factors manifested in the decline of local traditional economies and formed a catalyst to redevelopment;
- ii. To assess how global and national factors underpinned common ground between the redevelopments, whilst locally specific factors shaped differences;
- iii. To investigate how the omission of certain interests from local governance, such as local communities, was as important in analysing redevelopment objectives as those that interests that were represented, such as business and local authorities;
- iv. To gauge the extent to which, following a period of crisis in traditional economies, the redevelopment process was an attempt to regain stability.

Overall, the research objectives link theoretical concerns raised in Chapter One and Chapter Two with empirical evidence presented in the case studies. Additionally, they provide a framework for the structuring the findings in Chapter Six; which addresses these research objectives within a chronological context. As such, the role of the research objectives is initially to provide boundaries for the case studies, but also to focus the subsequent findings on central issues to arise from the theoretical chapters of the thesis. With this in mind, the research objectives provide a flexible

method of investigation because they allow a range of responses, rather than attempting to presume what Strauss (1987) calls the provisional answers inherent in using a hypothesis.

3.3.2, Sources of Data

Having established a set of research objectives that link theoretical and empirical data, the case study boundaries start to become clear. The next question is, therefore, of a practical nature and concerns which sources of data are important in addressing the research objectives and constructing the case studies? This question is important within the research because it identifies how different forms of evidence relate to the research objectives – which are themselves informed by the thesis's theoretical basis. Yin (1984) provides a useful starting point by identifying six sources of evidence, with this thesis using three of the six.

Yin's first category is documentation. Covering a wide range of evidence from various sources, this includes council publications outlining policy objectives and future goals. Furthermore, private sector companies involved in redevelopments also produced a range of documents defining their vision of how the urban environment would change under their guidance. In addition to direct communication through publications, both the private sector and local authorities carried out indirect communication through

media sources such as local newspapers, journals, and publicity material. This type of information was important as both a starting point for investigation and as a method of supporting interview evidence. Clearly, this source of information is prone to bias, with policy objectives not necessarily adhered to, and often illustrating political expedience rather than honest dialogue. Additionally, Hall (unpublished/c) points out how media reports of redevelopment projects are frequently biased, as local media sources rely on local authority contributions and want to be seen to boost the region. However, this does not necessarily have to be a problem, with discrepancies between policy objectives/media statements and evidence in the case studies being an important starting point for interviews.

Yin's second source, archival records, provides a diverse range of supporting data such as local authority budgets, lists of people attending conferences, and statistical information. In many respects, the secondary nature of sources makes this category similar to Yin's first, documentation. However, whilst documentation largely concerns the aims and objectives of those involved in the redevelopment process, archival records predominantly contained more objective sources of data such as economic data on spending and employment as well as large-scale studies such as Regional Trends and census data.

The difference between these first two categories lies in their relationship to the thesis. Whilst the first category provides a source that can be examined

sociologically to form the basis for subsequent analyses, archival records underpin case study evidence and either validate or challenge claims made by prominent interviewees.

The third source of data Yin outlines is interviews. Having started to construct case studies based on evidence from Yin's first two categories, it is possible to identify important actors within the redevelopments, including those in local authorities, local businesses and community associations. The interviews developed data gained from previous sources by investigating experiences of redevelopments and the way urban redevelopment was formulated as a response to recession. Significantly, it would not be possible to address fully the research objectives without recourse to interviews that provide an in-depth and original contribution to the subject not gained from other sources. As such, interviews provide an insight into the rationale and development of local social regulation, as well as illustrating the interplay between structures and agents.

As with other sources, there is always a risk of bias, with interviewees choosing to be selective in their disclosure of information and not wanting to be too self-critical. Triangulating interviews overcomes this problem, with the previous two sources of data and cross-referencing between different interviews. Interviews form a cornerstone of the case studies, and raise specific issues concerning whom to interview and how to gain access (see section 3.3.3).

Despite Yin's comprehensive listing, one source of evidence used within this research, which he omits, is correspondence by post. Although being a poor substitute for interviews, the information gleaned from this form of transaction plays an important role. Specifically, instances of lengthy and detailed correspondence with property developers such as Chelsfield¹ and Hampton Trust² were invaluable in constructing definitions, identifying areas of conflict and consensus, as well as helping in the formation of the case studies.

3.3.3, Interviews and access

The research objectives examined previously identify the importance of local actors and their responses to changes in global and national structures. Initial research based on documentary and archival sources of data began to identify three main groups within which local actors are located - business; managerial/local authority; community. There is some precedence for this position, with Ward (1996) identifying how Stone, DiGaetano and Klemanski, and Orr and Stoker have all used similar divisions when studying urban regimes in Atlanta, Bristol and Birmingham, and Detroit respectively. Whilst most of these studies have examined American cities

¹Chelsfield plc are the current owners of the Merry Hill shopping centre.

and present problems in transferring findings to a British context, the methodology is flexible enough to study events in Birmingham and Dudley Borough. Importantly, this classifies interviewees into groups determined by their relationship to the redevelopments and, ultimately, begins to understand a series of relationships between them and provides a balanced interview programme.

The first of these groups was business, constituting those from the private sector who invests money in the redevelopments and whose predominant interest is defined along financial lines and profit. This included companies such as Brindleyplace plc, one of the major property developers in the BSRA, as well as Richardson Developments that constructed Merry Hill and Chelsfield, the current owners. Importantly, interviews with members of this group highlighted the way in which local actors perceived economic change and the way redevelopment represented a response that would regenerate local businesses. Their interests were firmly located within how the local regime of accumulation could develop, though there was some awareness of the need for political management to support local accumulation. In essence, local business actors were interested in the changing economy and, thereby, how global economic changes manifested on a local level.

²Hampton Trust plc are the prospective developers of 'Arena Central' on lower Broad Street

The second group was managerial/local authority actors and included those within planning and economic development departments of local authorities whose main role was to manage the redevelopment process through policies and planning controls. This also covered a range of temporary bodies formed, primarily under local authority guidance, to investigate methods of changing the urban and economic environment. The group was relatively diverse, with different departments having varied objectives for the redevelopments. Furthermore, whilst councillors viewed the redevelopments from the perspective of social uses and benefits, those in the planning departments were more concerned with how it relates to the local economy. Arguing in the first two chapters that the redevelopments were economic *and* political phenomena, the influence of the local authorities and their relative separation from business demands demonstrated how it would be wrong to see the redevelopments as being economically determined. The importance of interviewing local political actors is that they identified political changes as well as the way that local events are bounded by national changes.

Finally, there was community, encapsulating those people who live near to the redevelopments and experience many of the socio-economic problems associated with declining traditional economies. Significantly, it is people from these areas that it was claimed the redevelopments would benefit through regeneration and trickle down. Interviewees came from various organisations such as residents' associations and community groups,

highlighting local experiences of community and the expression of common sentiments rather than individual opinions.

Referring back, the previous section put forward the view that despite similar contexts, the redevelopments were unique because of the influence of local factors. Importantly, local community experiences illustrated this common context in terms of changing patterns of work and consumption. Furthermore, exclusion of these formal community agencies from urban regimes indirectly determined regime objectives. Consequently, it is important to examine how communities were excluded from the redevelopment process as well as recognising what they wanted from the projects.

Having identified potential interviewees, the next task was to contact them and arrange interviews, thus raising issues concerning access and my relationship to the interviewees. Attempting to examine my own 'field role', Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) construct a typology of interviewer-interviewee relationships, of which this research fits in as 'observer as participant'. Relating Hammersley and Atkinson's definition to this research, while there was no need for covert research, there was a realisation that the control of the redevelopment process by business-people and politicians meant that I was an outsider. The same is true of interviews with local community groups and residents' associations where, again, there was an acceptance that I was an outsider, and so never a total participant.

One problem to arise from being an outsider to the redevelopment process was that of not being 'accepted' by interviewees and, consequently, interviews not going beyond the boundaries of already available evidence. Overcoming this potential barrier, care was taken in interviews not to alienate those being interviewed through building up an understanding of the background and issues of the redevelopments that resulted in an intrinsic role in the redevelopment process by virtue of knowledge. Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) characterise this position as 'acceptable incompetent', embodying the roles of an outsider through being a researcher, and an insider by being competent on the subject.

Building on this role of an 'acceptable incompetent', an important element of interview data came at the end of interviews, when people were often more relaxed and spoke freely 'off the record'. Highlighting unofficial aims, views and an understanding of how the region had changed, this information was useful in constructing questions for other people and for directing the research down various avenues. Where such 'off the record' information was used, it was done so indirectly, without reference to sources and with anonymity being a prime concern.

It was from this position of 'acceptable incompetent' that contacts were made with potential interviewees. Some interview groups were harder to access than others, with people from the business sector often being

reluctant to be interviewed. Potentially, this illustrated a belief that they felt no mandate to meet with the public in the same way as local authorities. Forming a significant influence over the redevelopment of Merry Hill and Broad Street, companies such as the Richardson Development Corporation and Brindleyplace plc were clearly pivotal actors. Initial requests for interviews met with cautious replies, though contact came about through a combination of persistence and openness with the interviewees regarding the topics of research. Consequently, interviewees received copies of questions in advance, progress reports on the research and, eventually, a draft copy of the relevant case study. Subsequently, all interviewees were afforded such measures, not only did this build trust, it also reflected the two-way nature of research and opened up future avenues of research. Furthermore, responses to the case study drafts improved validity and led to a further wave of qualitative data.

The third group, community, also presented problems with access as it proved to be a disparate group that needed a wider range of contacts. Initially contacted by post, the response rate was low, making it necessary to use other forms of contact. Direct contact by either telephone or calling into community centres was a more effective means of meeting people in this group. It seems the reasoning behind this was not a show of unwillingness to meet, but that most groups are organised loosely and administration was not as efficient as possible. This approach put me in contact with people

who were not only willing to help, but whose local attachment seemed to be the underlying motivation.

One problem with this last group was how to define the boundaries of community for this research. Definitions of community are problematic because despite identifying physical boundaries and community facilities, feelings of belonging to that community can be subjective and hard to rationalise. As if to reinforce the depth of problems, Blackman (1995: 143) notes there are more than 100 definitions of community, which can be broken down into two main categories. Firstly, there are territorial communities arising from shared neighbourhoods and ‘place-bound interaction’ (1995: 143). Secondly, there are non-territorial communities based on shared beliefs, identities and cultures that do not relate to locality.

In relation to this thesis, a territorial based definition of community was more useful because the effects of redevelopment were experienced most by those living in a distinct geographical area, or territory. Difficulty arose, however, when attempting to define precisely what comprised that territory or area. Therefore, in applying a definition of community to this thesis, it is necessary to identify indicators that delimit the term territorial. A starting point in this is the acceptance that there are many ‘territories’, ranging from streets, to estates, to towns or districts. As such, it is necessary to identify exactly which territory is appropriate to the study of redevelopment by identifying the range of its impact.

Despite such problems, the presence of a group of people that experienced recession and redevelopment in similar ways, which also coincided with geographical factors, illustrated community's importance as an analytical unit. A clear starting point was to include people whose experiences of consumption, leisure and environment had *significantly* changed through the presence of the redevelopments. This occurred directly in Birmingham city centre where there had been an expansion of exclusive retail and nightlife on the doorstep of those in Ladywood. However, it also occurred indirectly in places such as Dudley where local resources, notably retail, had declined in response to redevelopment nearby. These people had what Blackman (1995: 145) terms a 'shared dependence on local services'.

Additionally, it is possible to identify a series of territories based on the formation of geographically defined community groups. These groups recognised Merry Hill or Broad Street redevelopments as having a notable impact on the lives of their members and potential members. Consequently, this represented groups of people most affected by local political and economic restructuring, as manifested through the redevelopments.

Crow and Allan (1994) argue that, in the wake of recession, a revival of interest in communities as a sociological concept highlights the problems of studying communities in isolation. This thesis continues this aim of contextualising communities within a socio-economic environment by

highlighting links between communities and political and economic restructuring. Support for such an aim comes from Christopherson (1994), who warns of focussing too exclusively on communities rather than their position within urban relations. Emphasising communities as a product of social and economic relations rather than an autonomous phenomenon, this illustrates the need to study them as a product of social forces.

Having identified the three broad local structures that would be targeted for interviews, the next task was to physically identify interviewees. As a starting point in the selection of interviewees, I remained conscious of the research objectives and the need to discover how changes had been experienced, understood and responded to by local actors. Behind this was also a belief that if the research is to argue that there is an emerging stability, there needs to be a link between crisis and stability. Problematically, it is not enough to identify the presence of crisis and then to identify the emergence of redevelopments and presume this to be related response; the implicit nature of the connection lacks credibility and validity. If there is to be a valid argument that the redevelopments were responsive, there not only needs to be the recognition of a redevelopment *process* that predates the physical redevelopments, but also that this process includes the formulation of a redevelopment strategy and identifies a rationale for such a strategy. This means showing how economic decline was a catalyst for the redevelopment process.

In order to fully examine these links between crisis and the redevelopment process it is necessary to find out how key local actors had understood the nature of crisis and the way in which they envisaged stability re-emerging. Furthermore, it was an aim of the research to highlight the exclusion of communities from the redevelopment process, thereby recognising a defining element of stability within political economy. This meant using the interviews to illustrate not only exclusion, but also less tangible feelings of alienation. The result was that the community interviews highlighted a different experience of crisis that was not addressed by the redevelopment process, hence indicating that crisis is not experienced in the same way by all sections of the locality.

Using the interviews to balance the research between structure and agency, as well as recognising the role of community within political economy, the selection of interviewees needed to include those who had played a significant role in the redevelopment process or whose relationship to the redevelopment was based on involvement in local community groups. To a large extent, this criteria itself selected many of the interviewees. This involved leaders of the councils, heads of planning departments, those active in community and residents' groups, and business representatives who had played important roles in the development processes. During interviews, respondents mentioned other people or directly recommended people as potential interviewees, this meant that whilst I had identified a

starting point as a way into the field I was subsequently presented with further avenues of inquiry.

Regarding the question of representativeness, particularly in the context of assessing community sentiments, I felt it was important to be as valid as possible whilst also accepting that it was impossible to canvass everyone's views. As such, the selection of community interviewees included those people who were involved in community and residents groups and had a formal relationship with local people at meetings. Additionally, these people (many of them having bases within community centres) had regular informal contact with local people where the topic of redevelopment of regularly was mentioned. This informal level of contact formed the basis for interviewees assessing a broader consensus of local opinion and feelings.

Initial contacts with interviewees led to a snowball sample of other interested parties. Not only was the snowball sample a useful way to build up a wealth of interview data, it also identified links between various respondents. This served two purposes; firstly, it illustrated the depth and strength of community networks. Secondly, interviewees did not suggest contacts from the other interview target groups identified above, thus displaying divisions between groups, defined by their access to urban resources such as capital, land and political power.

The interviews themselves were semi-structured, lasted for about one hour and had the ultimate goal of ‘eliciting rich, detailed materials that can be used in qualitative analysis’ (Fielding, 1993: 137). The semi-structured nature of the interviews is characterised as thus:

‘Questions are normally specified, but the interviewer is more free to probe beyond the answers in a manner which would often seem prejudicial to the aims of standardisation...Qualitative information about the topic can then be recorded by the interviewer who can seek both clarification and elaboration of the answers given.’ (May, 1993: 93)

This allowed the interviews to remain focused, while still allowing the respondents the opportunity to express their own viewpoint. Dixon et al (1987) points out that the interview should not be seen as a ‘fishing trip’, carried out in the hope that a piece of vital information will be discovered. Instead an interview guide was based on the realisation that it is a measure of variables, albeit qualitative, and that all questions should be related to that objective.

There were two advantages to this method for the research. Firstly, there was the obvious advantage of allowing the interviewees to raise issues related to the initial question that were not necessarily on my interview schedule. This highlighted a series of links between topics and brought up topics of which I was unaware, this was important bearing in mind the interviews had an objective of examining people’s understandings and

experiences of crisis and change. Secondly, I was able to develop the questions to suit the person I was interviewing. Therefore, whilst the questions were broadly similar, featuring as they did a focus on redevelopments, communities and partnership, the tailoring process allowed interviews with communities to develop a greater focus on experiences of change and exclusion whilst interviews with local authorities and businesses focused slightly more on the nature of partnership, consultation and regeneration. Examples of the questions are located in appendix 1.

Before embarking on the interviews, two of the key issues to address were how best to record the data and how this data would subsequently complement the developing case studies. Increasingly, the norm within social science research has been to tape record interviews in these situations, with the obvious advantages of not having to make notes and not missing any important facts. However, I was also aware of the potential issues around power, relating to my role as an outsider and whether a tape recorder would make interviewees feel inhibited and uneasy. Behind this concern was knowledge that many interviewees from local authorities and from the business community are experienced in being recorded, with many of them appearing regularly on local television and local radio. In contrast, interviewees from local communities tended to be unfamiliar with being interviewed or with the whole process of research. This did not mean that their information was any less valid or any less considered, but that the presence of a tape recorder could make them feel overly self-conscious and

even reticent. I was aware that the interviewees could view me as an outsider (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983), or that links to the university and academia might even prove daunting. This issue of intimidation was something I needed to avoid, and I believe that the presence of a tape recorder could have made the interview situation more uncomfortable for certain interviewees and consequently would have affected the quality of dialogue.

For the sake of consistency and fairness, I decided either to tape all the interviews or to record all of them in note form. The first interview I undertook was with someone from the community. Equipped with both a tape recorder and a notepad, I initially placed the tape recorder on the table, but the interviewee subsequently asked if I would mind not taping the interview. Not only did this validate my feelings that certain interviewees would not want to be taped, it also set a standard for the rest of the interviews.

Despite some initial concerns about taking notes whilst interviewing, I found the process easier than I expected. People spoke slower (and perhaps more thoughtfully) seeing that I was writing down their responses and were prepared to repeat comments if needed. Furthermore, with the aid of some shorthand and some experience of taking notes, I was able to write down the relevant issues as fully as was needed. Additionally, I was able to make side notes and copy down important quotes on the spot, sometimes with some

repetition. I typed the notes in full immediately after the interviews whilst thoughts were still clear in my mind. There were disadvantages to this system. These mainly related to the fact that I had to make decisions on the spot regarding what was relevant and what was not relevant. Whilst this was clear most of the time, it did mean that any reappraisal of what was relevant might mean revisiting the respondent for further interviews.

On average, this process produced approximately six typed pages of notes per interview. The choice not to tape interviews was difficult, though the decision to have consistency was straightforward. There are clear advantages to tape recording interviews, however, I feel that the absence of a tape recorder put respondents at ease and allowed them to talk more freely.

After completing the first of two waves of interviews, I read and re-read the interview data a number of times and identified issues such as areas of contradiction between interviewees, areas of consensus, popular themes, and local conflicts. Generally, these topics reflected what was already evident from background reading, though the interview data developed these topics by highlighting diversity in understandings and experiences of crisis. For example, whilst existing literature identifies the topic of partnership working to be important, the interviews developed the topic by identifying the recognition of conflicts, the development of a 'negotiated stance', a diversity of partnership working, and varied formal and informal channels of communication. Classified as relating to either accumulation or regulation,

the interview data illustrated that whilst there remained a clear distinction between the two, any demarcation was notional within a broader context of political economy.

Having identified a series of important topics within the interviews, the next task was to analyse the interviews and to locate the interviews within the emerging case studies. Initially, I tried using a qualitative software package to code and sort the data. However, this proved awkward to use and relatively artificial in its operation, as it involved the quantification and rationalisation of data which strength lay in its richness and identification of people's understandings and experiences. Consequently, with the typed copies laid out in front of me, I identified a series of numbered key topics and coded the interviews accordingly. Following this process, I had two sets of interview notes; one set with themes structured by the interviewee and another set organised by numbered topics. With these thematic sets of interview data, I was able to situate the respondent within the case studies and further identify instances of conflict and consensus.

3.4, Reflecting on the research process

The final section of this chapter concerns my own critical appraisal of carrying out the research process. Consequently, there is awareness of my

role as a researcher not being a ‘fly on the wall’ or an objective observer, but as an influence within the whole study of redevelopments and influencing of people’s responses. It would be wrong to try and believe that my role as researcher did not affect my results in any way; as such, a reflexivity regarding such issues benefits the thesis. Finally, with reflexivity in mind, there is an examination of validity and generalisability, highlighting how the research’s findings can be taken as a constructive contribution to knowledge.

3.4.1, Reflexivity

Having begun to analyse my relationship to the study through an examination of field roles, there was also a need to assess my influence as a researcher, this meant accepting that I am both influenced by the subject as well as exerting an influence over responses from interviewees. Mason provides a concise and useful working definition for reflexivity that is borne in mind throughout this research.

‘This [reflexivity] is based on the belief that the researcher cannot be neutral, or objective, or detached, from the knowledge and evidence they are gathering. Instead, they should seek to understand their role in that process. Indeed, the very act of posing difficult questions to oneself in the research process is part of the act of reflexivity.’ (1996: 6)

The acceptance of reflexivity within this research represented an acceptance that the researcher could never be totally isolated from the subject, which, in this case, was the redevelopment and social restructuring process. Hammersley and Atkinson doubt it is possible to 'isolate a body of data uncontaminated by the researcher, either by turning him or her into an automaton or by making him or her a neutral vessel of cultural experience' (1983: 14).

As such, I did not enter the research process free from previous ideas and notions about the subject. Likewise, my presence could itself be influential depending on how the relationship of the researcher and subject is viewed. Rather than seeing this as a fault of the research, it proved to be a benefit, with the continual interaction between the researcher and the subject allowing for a greater understanding of the outcomes.

Inherent within the methodology was an acceptance of subjectivity resulting from the rejection of a positivist methodology, as well as the dialectical nature of the research process:

'Naturalistic research, in contrast [to scientific inquiry], acknowledges the ways in which research actively *inevitably* shapes and constitutes the object of inquiry; the researcher and researched are characterised as interdependent in the social process of research. This can be termed the reflexive character of research' (Hammersley, 1993: 24. Author's own emphasis)

Despite worries that the 'reflexive card is now being played too regularly in the social sciences' (Silverman, 1997: 239) it appears that the pretence of unbiased objectivity can be the toughest barrier to social enquiry. Within this research, the researchers sociological imagination brings together various factors. Implicit in this is the view that the researcher is not separate from the case studies, instead, the researcher had an influence on those being researched and was in turn influenced by the subject of the research.

This highlighted the issue of bias. With the use of a research diary and continued awareness, a distinction was drawn between bias and reflexivity. This distinction was defined within the research with bias being a structural deficiency within the research whilst reflexivity was a realistic acceptance of the role of the researcher. In accepting this, Yin (1984: 62-3) identifies a further series of conditions that maintain such a distinction within the research:

1. 'A good person should be able to ask good questions and interpret the answers.
2. A person should be a good listener and not trapped by his or her own ideologies and preconceptions.
3. A person should be adaptive and flexible so that newly encountered situations can be seen as opportunities, not threats.
4. A person must have a firm grasp of the issues being studied, whether this is a theoretical or policy orientation, even if in an exploratory mode.
5. A person should be unbiased by preconceived notions, including those derived from theory. Thus, a person should be sensitive and responsive to contradictory evidence.'

Mason was also acutely aware of this when she states:

‘It is important not to underestimate the reflexive challenge posed by analysing your own role within the research process.’
(1996: 41)

Reflexivity, therefore, involved an acceptance of the role of the researcher within the research as a medium between the field of study and the thesis. This involves aggregating theories, notions, hunches and empirical data, as well as the interplay between various sources.

3.4.2, Validity and generalisability

The issue of validity is central to the thesis, though Perakyla (1997) states that there is no definitive method in qualitative research. As such, validity is attained through the multitude of sources and methods of data collection within this research. This research bases its attainment of validity upon the integration of data from theories, interviews, and printed matter.

This combination of various sources, combined with various methods of collection, allows triangulation of data for validity. Consequently, findings illustrate for areas of conflict as well as for consensual aspects. As mentioned earlier, copies of various sections of the research mailed to

interested parties and their comments noted and included to ensure results could not be ascribed to other factors.

In order to achieve reliability, a comprehensive availability of all sources used and their origins is indicated. There is also be a clear structure and a 'case study protocol' (Yin, 1984) produced to highlight the importance of data triangulation (Macdonald and Tipton, 1993). This involves:

'Cross checking the existence of certain phenomena and the veracity of individual accounts by gathering data from a number of informants and a number of sources and subsequently comparing and contrasting one account with another in order to produce as full and balanced a study as possible.' (Bell, 1993: 64).

This means there is a constant connection between the case studies' direction and the research objectives.

The issue of external validity and whether the findings are generalisable to other redevelopments beyond the case studies is, perhaps, something that will be seized upon by those looking at case studies as unscientific. However, with a rigorous approach regarding validity and reliability, a methodology is constructed which is generalisable to other redevelopments in a similar position. Hence, the external validity is not located within regional factors and findings, but in the results of analysing local entities in the light of a theoretical framework.

Yin (1984) calls this ‘analytical generalisability’. Therefore, an area with similar traits of industrial decline and urban regeneration can be analysed in the same way, such as the Metro Centre in Gateshead and Meadowhall in Sheffield. Yin continues by stating that only when the analytical generalisability is proved through application can automatic generalisability be claimed.

Perakyla (1997) adds to the debate on generalisability by pointing out that with case studies using small samples, qualitative data can be questioned regarding its generalisability. The interest in generalisability as a facet of qualitative research is been increasingly important during the last fifteen years (Schofield, 1993). Examining how this research is generalisable beyond the confines of Birmingham and Dudley Borough, it is clear that many other parts of Britain have experienced similar declines in traditional manufacturing/industrial economies within a similar time-scale. Furthermore, the development and expansion of local service sector economies has been a common response in many of these localities. This is particularly evident in the emergence of the ubiquitous shopping centre (Blue Water, Lakeside, Meadowhall, etc.) as well as other projects aimed at attracting visitors. As well as these economic changes, these localities have been constrained in their responses by the influence of ideological shifts originating from central government through the 1980s and 1990s. Therefore, generalisations within this thesis are based on common ground factors between Birmingham and Dudley Borough on one hand, and the rest

of the country on the other hand - notably this means global and national structures.

However, there is only generalisation up to a point, with this point being where local actors have the autonomy to determine local events. As such, the case studies show that despite the generalisability of factors shown in Chapters One and Two, the move from traditional economies to service sector economies is by no means a homogeneous process. Despite similar extra-local influences, there remains a diversity of outcomes.

What was problematic for this research, therefore, is to provide a high degree of generalisability whilst retaining the locally specific nature of the research. The importance placed on qualitative data means while the data were harder to generalise, the complementary increase in detail and depth resulted in a profitable trade off. In the light of this, there is a disdain for a complete generalisability by some researchers (Schofield, 1993), feeling it can detract from the locally specific nature of research.

Yin (1984) notes that this 'analytical generalisability' means that case studies can be selected for particular reasons, such as redevelopment. Their generalisability lies in the fact that the case studies within this common theme are generalised to a particular theory. As such, an awareness of other case studies involving urban redevelopment is borne in mind when constructing the theoretical framework that provides a common link

between them all. Using more than one case study within this research also creates generalisability. The realisation of similarities and peculiarities highlights what is generalisable through theory and what is locally specific (Schofield, 1993).

3.5, Summary

In summary, this chapter has identified significant themes from the previous chapters and moulded them into a set of research objectives that will guide the construction of case studies and provide an analytical framework for Chapter Six.

The use of case studies is central to this research by enabling the investigation of local events, albeit in the context of issues examined in Chapters One and Two. Consequently, interviews combine with analysis of published material to provide an overview of the redevelopment process.

Having reached this stage of the thesis, the research continues with the case studies of the BSRA and Merry Hill.

Chapter Four

Broad Street case study

Abbreviations used:

BCC Birmingham City Council

BCCI Birmingham Chamber of Commerce and Industry

BEIC Birmingham Economic Information Centre

BMP Birmingham Marketing Partnership

BSRA Broad Street Redevelopment Area

CBD Central Business District

CBSO City of Birmingham Symphony Orchestra

EU European Union

ICC International Convention Centre

NEC National Exhibition Centre

NIA National Indoor Arena

UDP Unitary Development Plan

Interviewees (all names have been changed):

Birmingham City Council

Dave Cassidy	Economic Development Department
Norman Gallagher	Planning Department
Jim Tully	Head of city centre redevelopment
Barry Templeton	Transportation Department
Brian Kelly	Local Councillor and senior member of the City Council
Stephen Thomson	Leader of the Council during the redevelopment
Frank Bennett	Former chair of the ICC/NEC Committee
Sandra Hughes	Leader of the Council

Business

Sean Somers	Director of BCCI
Kerry Morris	Manager with Brindleyplace plc
Lorna Wallace	Former manager of marketing with Brindleyplace plc
Nick Kennedy	Hampton Trust

Community

Rhona Browning	Central Ladywood Community Association
Margaret Blessington	Ladywood Forum
Gerry Lyon	Birmingham for People
Janet Stubbs	Ladywood Forum founder member

Charlie	Local resident and active member of community associations
Ken	"
Bill	"
Andy	"

Interview data within this chapter is indicated through footnotes

4.1, Introduction

This chapter presents fieldwork evidence regarding the redevelopment of Broad Street, Birmingham. Central to the case study is a chronological account of Broad Street’s redevelopment. Commencing with a historical context, the case study examines the activities of actors within business, the City Council and local communities.

Case studies play a valuable role in gathering evidence to examine the research objectives set out in Chapter Three, with the choice of case studies as a method of data collection reflecting the variety of actors and influences within the redevelopment process. As such, this chapter provides a comprehensive view of the BSRA’s historical context, aims and objectives, and local impact. This chapter uses a variety of sources of data, as outlined in Chapter Three. Whilst the interview data underpins the originality of the research, the primary starting point

is documentary and archival sources, with interviews developing this information to demonstrate how decisions were made and how these decisions were experienced. Consequently, the interviews reflect the three main structures of politics, business and community mentioned in Chapter Three.

The case study identifies empirical links between global and national trends and local experiences. Although changes in the economy and politics are largely global and national in origin, Broad Street's redevelopment exemplifies localised urban policy, which sought to develop a business tourist economy by a partnership between the public and private sectors.

The case study also demonstrates that no single causal factor inspired the redevelopment of Broad Street. The power of the City Council, a history of redevelopment in the area, the precedence of partnership, and the success of the NEC were all influential. These factors combined in the construction of flagship projects during the late 1980s and 1990s, including the International Convention Centre (ICC), the National Indoor Arena (NIA), and Symphony Hall.

Economic regeneration was put forward as a motivation for redevelopment; consequently, this chapter examines the extent to which Broad Street's redevelopment regenerated the local economy. A problematic field of study, the City Council argued that the real regenerative effects would come about through indirect spending by visitors and private sector investment. This chapter includes an examination of the local community's experience of the redevelopment,

especially in terms of jobs, and demonstrates a specific relationship between the redevelopment and local communities.

Finally, there is an assessment of the future of redevelopment on Broad Street by examining the proposed Arena Central mixed-use development. This highlights how the redevelopment created a momentum of exclusive service-sector developments, as well as illustrating a relative demarcation of responsibilities between the City Council and the private sector.

4.2, Broad Street: A historical context of redevelopment

Despite representing all that is new in the city, Broad Street is also a product of Birmingham's economic history. As such, the first concern of this case study is to examine the historical context of redevelopment.

The success of industry and manufacturing made Birmingham a relatively prosperous city by the nineteenth century, regarded locally as 'the city of a thousand trades' (Duffy, 1995). Cherry (1994) credits Birmingham as being at the forefront of urban advancement with an almost transatlantic appetite for modernity and renewal. Although being a mixture of fact and folklore, the linking of progress with Birmingham is embodied in the city's coat of arms, which bears the motto 'forward'.

From 1869, the centre of Birmingham became increasingly important as a retail centre and the City Council expanded rapidly under the guidance of Joseph Chamberlain (Bird, 1979); trends that continued throughout the twentieth century (Sutcliffe and Smith, 1974). During the nineteenth century and especially throughout the twentieth century, Broad Street underwent a series of changes in both use and appearance - see map of Birmingham city centre. Originating from a competition in 1926 to plan a civic quarter for the city, the City Council commissioned Baskerville House in 1935. Constructed in a neo-classical style, the similarly styled Municipal Bank soon followed, with both intended to become integral elements of the proposed, though never completed, civic quarter (Sutcliffe and Smith, 1974: 449-55) - itself a means by which the council emphasised their centrality in the city. Until the 1950s, Broad Street featured high quality shops (Birmingham Post, 22/12/87; Evening Mail, 17/12/75; Latham and Swenarton, 1999: 17), above average housing (Hopkins, 1989: 124) and an important route from many middle-class areas to the city centre.

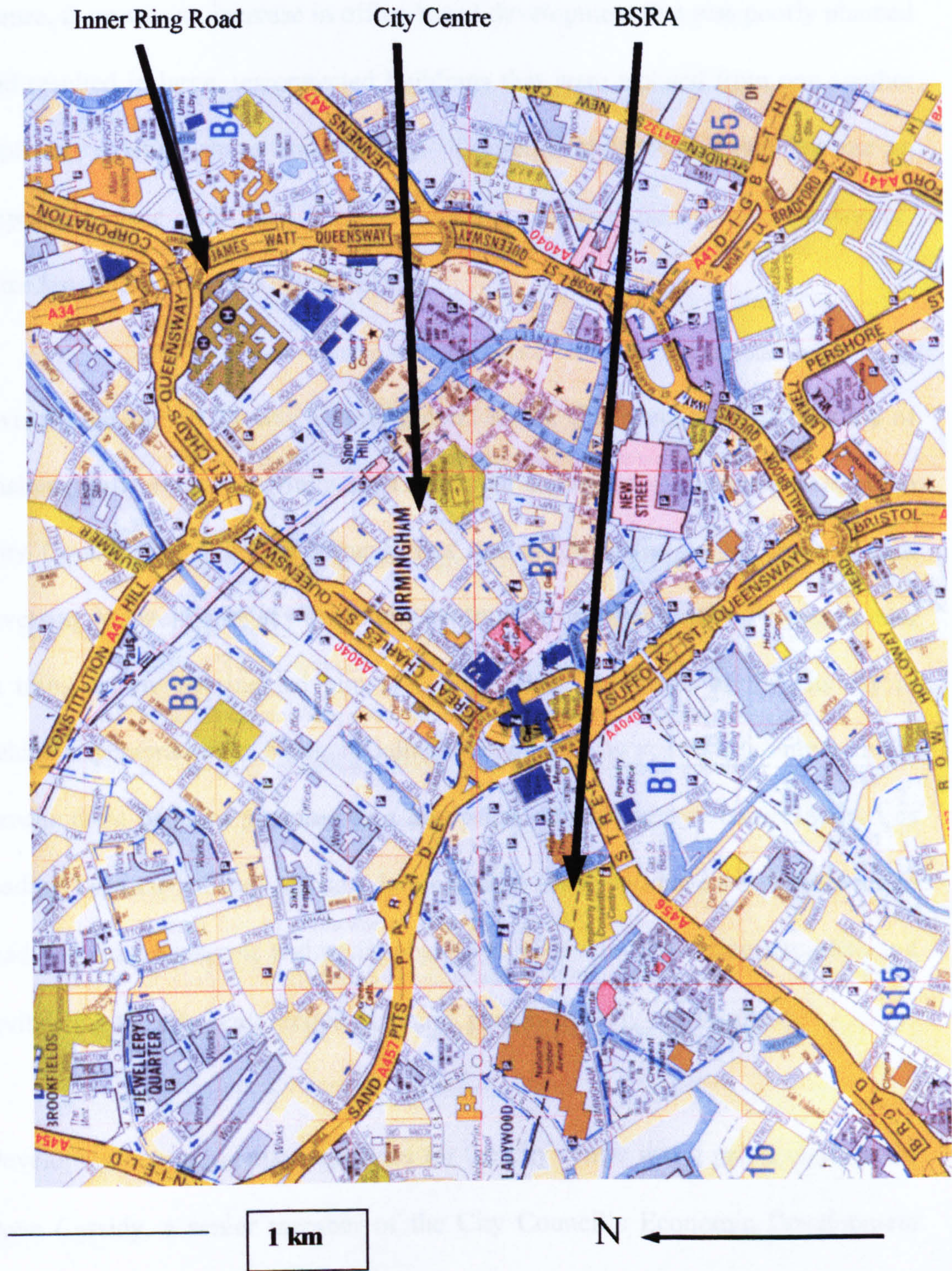
Through the 1950s and 1960s, further redevelopments ventured beyond the established conservative architectural styles. Buildings such as the Repertory Theatre, the Register Office, and Alpha Tower signalled the re-emergence of a new commercial role for an area that was previously designated a civic quarter. Jim Tully, the City Council's head of city centre redevelopment, claimed that the south side of Broad Street, featuring a post-war expansion of commercial facilities, was not included in designs for a civic quarter. However, the

construction of the Municipal Bank and Register Office on the south side of Broad Street tends to counter these claims.

During the years of post-war economic prosperity (Duffy, 1995), the City Council supported the region's economy through public spending. The result of this was investment in infrastructure within the Broad Street area and the development of a comprehensive road network under the guidance of the City Engineer, Herbert Manzoni, and his successor Neville Borg. An overall process of redevelopment in central Birmingham came to an end in 1971 with completion of the Inner Ring Road (Cherry, 1994) - *see figure 4.1*. This arterial road network emphasised a centralised focus for Birmingham and asserted the importance of the city centre. Within this, Broad Street linked the city centre with west Birmingham and major road links to the Black Country.

However, the inner ring-road and other developments also marginalised Broad Street from the city centre and by the mid-1970s Broad Street was labelled 'the dead-end of town' by the local media (Evening Mail, 17/12/75). 'Gradually dying' and characterised by 'waste land, cheap cafés and litter' (Birmingham Post, 12/10/77), the area was viewed by the City Council and many elements of the private sector as a prime site for redevelopment. From the 1970s, the City Council wanted to develop Broad Street area to include 'a hotel, night-club and other entertainment projects' (ibid.) and 'a new luxury hotel, conference and banqueting complex in Birmingham' (Evening Mail, 12/10/77).

Figure 4.1, Map of Birmingham City Centre, the inner ring road and the BSRA



However, these plans faced problems, with many leases in the area not due to expire for some time. As Broad Street became increasingly separate from the city centre, there was an increase in office-based development that was poorly planned and resulted in large, unconnected buildings that were isolated from one another replacing existing shops and housing. Consequently, Broad Street became an unpopular place with local people, becoming ‘under-populated and windswept’ after 5pm (Birmingham Post, 22/12/87).

Overall, the late 1970s was a turning point as the City Council began a trend of challenging Herbert Manzoni’s aims. Norman Gallagher, a senior member of the City Council Planning Department, was one of the main people charged with reversing Manzoni’s legacy in the city centre. He felt that Manzoni’s background in transport engineering led him to a belief that ‘the future of the city lay in vehicular penetration’¹. Norman Gallagher continued by stating that only with the development of town planning as a discipline were these policies recognised as leading to ‘a city of poor design, dominated by roads and hard for pedestrians to read’². Future economic and social objectives of developing business tourism and revitalising the city centre required a more person-friendly environment.

Developing new economic objectives for the city centre was a prime concern for Dave Cassidy, a senior member of the City Council’s Economic Development Department. Identifying a pre-Manzoni precedent, he pointed out that historically

¹ Quote taken from interview

² Quote taken from interview

‘the city centre was the focus for nightlife and shopping for Birmingham people resulting in people using the city centre extensively for leisure and retail’³. However, as Broad Street declined in quality, Norman Gallagher stated that planning problems developed as ‘a selection of low quality retail units that were marginal from the rest of the city centre’⁴ undermined the overall city centre as an attraction.

4.3, Recession: Local experiences of crisis.

One of the research objectives from Chapter Three was that economic decline and crisis formed a catalyst for redevelopment. This chapter proceeds by examining how recession and crisis manifested within Birmingham from the mid-1970s and throughout the 1980s, identifying a local context for redevelopment. Drawing on Chapters One and Two, the concept of crisis starts with the general economic decline that was especially evident in traditional manufacturing and industrial economies. Additionally, crisis illustrates the breakdown of long-term stability between a regime of accumulation and a mode of regulation. Chapters One and Two argued that economic change is the first step in this breakdown and therefore a catalyst. The following section provides evidence of this being the case in Birmingham.

³ Quote taken from interview

⁴ Quote taken from interview

Birmingham Economic Information Centre (BEIC), a partnership between the City Council and Birmingham TEC, identified a range of global economic factors affecting the city since the mid-1970s; with special attention paid to events such as recessions in Western economies, German re-unification, and the influence of EU membership. Additionally, Duffy (1995) identifies the oil crisis of the early 1970s as having a significant effect on a local economy dependent on industry. Furthermore, national political changes from 1979 limited government support for ailing industrial giants such as British Leyland in Birmingham (Pacione, 1997b). Supporting such claims, Duffy examines how a combination of national political restructuring and the development of Pacific Rim economies allowed companies such as Rover to build greater ties with Honda in Japan who began to supply many of the components. This adversely affected local companies such as Lucas and GKN where between 15 and 20% of demand came from British Leyland. Experiences of recession were so severe in Birmingham because of the city's 'heavy dependence on the manufacturing sector and in particular on a narrow range of inter-linked engineering industries specialising in the production of motor vehicles' (BEIC, undated\b: 6).

Additionally, BEIC states that the city's traditional economy featured a high number of small to medium sized, family owned companies. The result was an under investment in new methods of production, leading to structural problems within the local economy. By 1997 unemployment stood at 11.2% in Birmingham, compared with a national average of 6.1% (BCC, 1997a). Table 4.1 below charts the overall trend of a declining regional economy. The table shows

that between 1961 and 1991, a rapidly declining number of jobs eclipsed Birmingham’s shrinking labour supply.

Table 4.1: Labour supply, job availability and unemployment in Birmingham (1961-1991).

	1961	1971	1981	1991
Labour supply	684,000	693,000	558,000	547,000
Jobs in B’ham	685,000	607,000	513,000	466,000
Unemployment	1.1%	6.1%	15.2%	16.2%

Source: census of population workplace, cited in BEIC, undated\b

From the early 1970s until the early 1980s employment in Birmingham fell by 29%, leading to a ‘cycle of poverty’ (BCC, 1993a; 1993b) that was especially pronounced in the years immediately after 1979. Between March 1980 and September 1981, unemployment in Birmingham rose by 55,000 (BCC, 1994b). Job losses continued through the 1980s, with the bulk of jobs lost in the manufacturing sector; of the 200-220,000 jobs lost in the city during this period (Highbury Initiative, 1989; BEIC, undated\b) up to 86,000 were in manufacturing, accounting for 40 to 43.5% of all manufacturing employment (BEIC, undated\b; Duffy, 1995). A 7% contraction in manufacturing between 1990 and 1992 alone accounted for £450m of lost production (BEIC, undated\ a). Unemployment figures for the same time show an increase of 31,000 between June 1990 and September 1992 (BEIC, undated\b). Overall, experiences of recession have been an enduring theme of the local economy during the last twenty to thirty years and have provided a catalyst for redevelopment.

Despite hopes of economic regeneration, the city's economic problems appeared to be long lasting:

‘Employment forecasts to 2005, prepared by the BEIC suggest that, even if the potential for output growth is realised, growth in job opportunities is likely to be relatively modest.’ (BCC, 1994b: 13)

Birmingham Marketing Partnership, a public-private partnership that promoted investment and tourism in Birmingham, identified this as problematic for both the City Council and the business community:

‘The West Midlands economy, strongly dominated by the manufacturing industry, suffered badly from an accelerated decline in this sector in the late 1970s and early 1980s. In the face of concentrated job losses - employment in Birmingham declined by 29% between 1971 and 1983 - Birmingham City Council, together with other institutions in the city, saw an urgent need for action to bring new opportunities into growth service sectors - to increase jobs, diversify the local economic base and promote confidence in the city's economic future.’ (Birmingham Marketing Partnership, undated)

Interviews with people such as Dave Cassidy, Norman Gallagher, Jim Tully and Stephen Thomson from the City Council indicated a consensus that city centre redevelopment should aim to attract people back to the centre and support business tourism in the local economy. Experiences of recession in Birmingham united these objectives and determined the agenda for redevelopment. For this reason, the two waves of recession in early 1980s and early 1990s were important in directing the political and commercial nature of the redevelopment process.

Interviewees from the public and private sectors both illustrated the significance of recession as a catalyst to change. Stephen Thomson, leader of the City Council during the BSRA development, had a broad overview of how the project progressed as well as being aware of how economic decline was a catalyst for redevelopment. He remembered that ‘the city’s economy was in a state’⁵. Supplementing this view from the City Council, Sean Somers, a director of Birmingham Chamber of Commerce and Industry, said that Birmingham faced ‘economic deprivation [and] structural problems inherited from its past success’⁶.

Importantly, both of these people occupied senior positions in local politics and business during the initial planning of the redevelopment. Consequently, they were able to identify the major influences and typify a general feeling within business and politics. Jim Tully, head of city centre redevelopment within the City Council, also supported the idea of Birmingham’s economic problems being a legacy of heavy dependence on manufacturing and industry’s fortunes. He stated that through being so economically dependent on ‘manufacturing and little else’⁷, Birmingham was ‘plunged into a political and economic crisis in the late 70s’⁸. He continued by pointing out how by the late 1980s, ‘the manufacturing sector had shrunk to an extent that there were more service [sector] jobs than manufacturing’⁹.

⁵ Quote taken from interview

⁶ Quote taken from interview

⁷ Quote taken from interview

⁸ Quote taken from interview

⁹ Quote taken from interview

4.4, Locally specific influences: Making the redevelopment process unique

The case study has so far examined a local experience of decline in traditional economies. However, a similar set of circumstances occurred in many other British regions, including the Black Country. Despite being patterns experienced in other parts of the country, it does illustrate an influential context for change. The next task is to go beyond the effects of economic changes that are common to many industrial areas by identifying how locally specific factors are also pivotal in the redevelopment process.

Chapter Three identified one research objective to be an assessment of how whilst global factors determined experiences common to many regions, local factors determined unique factors within the redevelopment process. So far, this chapter has examined the effects of economic decline that result from global events. Characterised by a decline in traditional economies, the effects were similar to those experienced in Dudley Borough before Merry Hill. Therefore, what made the BSRA unique was the configuration of locally specific factors that also influenced the nature of redevelopment. This chapter proceeds by examining those local factors that are most important for this thesis.

4.4.1, The NEC: A precedent for Broad Street.

Looking at locally specific factors, the first question to arise concerned whether the redevelopment of Broad Street was without precedent. This is important because whilst the redevelopment is indicative of the city's changing economy, evidence suggests that the City Council were already involved in a public-private partnership within the service sector.

In 1959, the Pollitzer Committee identified a lack of quality exhibition space in Britain necessary for expanding world trade (National Exhibition Centre Group, undated). The City Council and Birmingham Chamber of Commerce and Industry produced a feasibility study for an exhibition centre outside the city at the same time that the Greater London Council proposed a similar scheme north-west of London at Northolt. Following public enquiries in the early 1970s, the Secretary of State granted permission for what became the NEC, with the centre opening in 1976 with ten exhibition halls, three more constructed in 1989, and four more in 1993.

NEC Ltd, the owners and managers of the NEC, was formed as a partnership between the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce and Industry and the City Council. A board of directors comprising four from the Chamber, four from the Council and a chair from the local business community determined company policy. One of the advantages of this partnership was its ability to access 'public sector loan rates' (ibid. 21).

The NEC has enjoyed considerable success since opening. Not only has the centre been profitable, it has also 'captured' prestige events such as the Motor Show and Crufts that were unquestionably London events prior to the NEC's construction. However, Birmingham has benefited relatively little in comparison to the NEC's level of success, with the NEC's out-of-town location doing little to help Birmingham's economy or jobs. Over three million people visited the centre between September 1992 and August 1993 alone, leading to £55m being spent in Birmingham and £274m in the rest of the West Midlands region (NEC Group, undated; KPMG, 1993). However, despite this level of spending, much of the money 'leaked' out of the region, leaving £40m in Birmingham and £95m in the rest of the West Midlands region. It is important to note that despite attracting large sums of money to the region, only 12.2% was retained within Birmingham's economy because although £329m of expenditure resulted from the NEC (1/9/92 - 31/8/93), Birmingham only retained £40m after 'leakages' (KPMG, 1993).

Despite this, there existed a clear link between the success of the NEC and the potential for city centre redevelopment. Norman Gallagher typified many responses of those within the City Council when he stated that with a declining traditional economy, the NEC 'showed a niche for conventions, conferences, and so on'¹⁰. Developing this idea, Jim Tully began to work out how the success of the NEC could benefit city redevelopment projects. He argued that the NEC was

¹⁰ Quote taken from interview

very successful at holding ‘big shed exhibitions’¹¹, but what was needed in order to regenerate the city centre economy were ‘upmarket facilities that could cope with modern business tourism and conventions rather than just exhibitions’¹². Working towards the idea of regenerating the city centre, both economically and physically, Jim Tully was also aware that the NEC’s out-of-town location meant local people did not benefit in terms of employment or visitor spending. Consequently, he stated that the City Council believed any ‘upmarket’ development of the NEC ‘should be in the city centre in order to get some credibility and so that jobs went to Birmingham people rather than Solihull¹³ [people]’¹⁴. Ultimately, the City Council identified a coincidence of interests in terms of wanting to redevelop the city centre and the opportunity to capitalise on the NEC’s existing success by developing a conference theme.

In summary, the NEC remains a locally specific instance of a successful partnership in addition to creating the groundwork for a business tourist economy in the city. Consequently, the NEC was a precedent for redevelopment in terms of economic direction and the ability to form partnerships. Therefore, the influence of the NEC demonstrated why the redevelopment of Broad Street was not opportunistic and how its role within the local economy provided a locally specific element in responding to global recession.

¹¹ Quote taken from interview

¹² Quote taken from interview

¹³ Solihull is a borough lying to the south-east of Birmingham and neighbouring the NEC.

¹⁴ Quote taken from interview

4.4.2, The BSRA and business tourism: Economic and social regulation

Within the context of studying how locally specific factors influenced redevelopment strategies, Chapter Three argued that an overall objective was to regain local stability. The following section demonstrates how in the light of economic decline and with the NEC being a precedent for service sector redevelopment, the BSRA aimed to develop new areas of local accumulation and address problems associated with crisis. These problems were identified primarily as economic, but also in terms of poor infrastructure and inappropriate regulation. Chapter Two highlighted how local regulation such as council objectives and employment opportunities needed to complement accumulation to develop stability, with regulation comprising of various facets. The BSRA, in addition to enabling new accumulation, was a political phenomenon that underpinned marketing and reflected the economic and political objectives of local political and business actors.

With the success of the NEC in mind, the City Council commissioned a feasibility study into a convention centre on Broad Street (Ecotec, 1983), which identified a clear market for conferences. The report also stressed that the centre would not make a profit in its own right, but would attract investment. Encouraged by the findings, Stephen Thomson, as leader of the City Council, wrote to the Secretary of State:

‘The findings of the JURUE research [Ecotec] are now available and are extremely encouraging... Firstly it shows that the City Council has a successful track record in developing and running a centre of national importance; secondly, that the long run regional economic benefits of such projects tend to exceed the original forecasts; and thirdly that major infrastructural projects can beneficially feed off one another.’¹⁵

The report predicted the creation of 10,000 jobs indirectly, 2,000 jobs in the centre itself, and regional investment to increase by £40m. The following year, 1984, the City Council identified a location for the convention centre, as well as land next to this for a hotel development that eventually became the Hyatt. Evidently, the City Council planned the redevelopment to go beyond the remit of the feasibility study. As such, in addition to the land for hotel development, a large area behind the convention centre site was set aside ‘for other related developments’ (NEC Group, undated: 11) and this was subsequently used for Brindleyplace, Symphony Court housing and the National Indoor Arena.

The combined development plans became the Broad Street Redevelopment Area (BSRA) - *see figure 4.2*. Objectives for the area included changing the road system and resolving the problematic pedestrian access to the area from the city centre. The City Council owned much of the land, including Bingley Hall, with compulsory purchase orders issued for other sections. Consequently, it was not until 1987 that the City Council was in a position to invite tenders for the work.

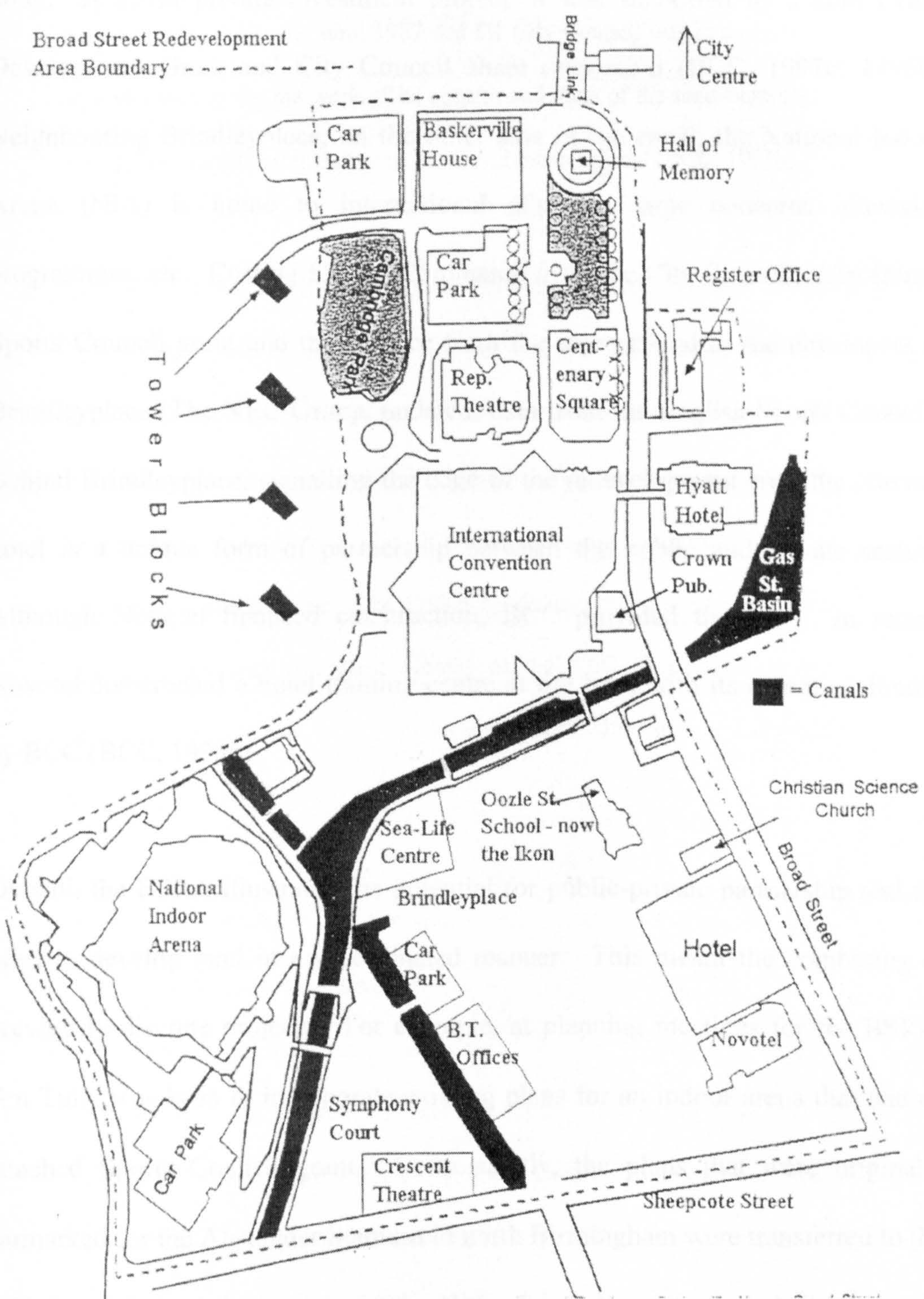
¹⁵ Quote taken from interview

The content and style of the redevelopment was defined in official literature as ‘a festival market place’ (BCC, 1993b).

Initiated in 1984, the BSRA involved building contracts allocated to the private sector. City Council objectives were that the BSRA would lead to a co-ordinated and integrated redevelopment that provided an economic and marketing focus for the city (BCC, 1993b). The major project was the International Convention Centre (ICC), incorporating Symphony Hall, a custom-built music venue. The £180m needed for this project was raised through loans secured against success of the NEC (The NEC Group, undated; The Times, 4/4/91) supplemented by £49.75m from the European Union (BCC, 1993b).

After the ICC, Brindleyplace, a mixture of small shops, bars and restaurants, offices and exclusive housing was the next major focus of the BSRA. Brindleyplace aimed to attract people back into the city centre, ensuring visitors would want to return and provided support for those using the ICC. Completed in 1994, ‘The Water’s Edge’ comprised shops and some offices directly facing the ICC and became the first part of Brindleyplace. Soon after, came the National Sea-Life Centre in 1996 and the whole scheme was finished in late 1999. The existing canal network was used to the development’s advantage as a backdrop to bars and housing. The private sector alone has financed the £300-350m construction costs (NEC Group, undated: 12).

Figure 4.2, Map of the Broad Street Redevelopment Area



Source: Birmingham City Council

Connected to the ICC by an enclosed bridge, the Hyatt International is a four star hotel. A £31m private investment project, it was supported by a £6m Urban Development Grant and City Council share ownership (BCC, 1997c; 1996b). Neighbouring Brindleyplace, on the other side of the canal, the National Indoor Arena (NIA) is home to international athletics, large concerts, television programmes, etc. Costing £50m, £25m came from the City Council, £3m from a Sports Council grant and the balance from the sale of land to the developers of Brindleyplace (The NEC Group, undated; data from the English Sports Council). Behind Brindleyplace, signalling the edge of the redevelopment area, the Novotel hotel is a unique form of partnership between the public and private sectors. Although Novotel financed construction, BCC provided the land. In return, Novotel constructed a hotel training centre at the back with its operation funded by BCC (BCC, 1993b).

Overall, the BSRA illustrated the potential for public-private partnership and the need to develop land in a co-ordinated manner. This meant the combining of previously discrete projects. For example, at planning meetings for the BSRA, Jim Tully was keen to incorporate existing plans for an indoor arena that had an attached Sports Council grant. Consequently, the plans that were originally earmarked for the Alexander Stadium in north Birmingham were transferred to the BSRA and formed the genesis for the NIA. Jim Tully remembered that the main reason for changing plans was so that 'the NIA could be part of the attraction of

the ICC with some cross subsidisation and facilities for conventions that needed extra large halls'¹⁶.

To date, the City Council has invested around £230m in capital expenditure, with an objective of inspiring private sector investment. In comparison, the private sector invested £350-400m, the European Regional Development Fund contributed £49.75m, there was a £6m Urban Development Grant and £3m came from the Sports Council (NEC Group, undated; The Times, 4/4/91; BCC, 1993b; 1996b; 1997c; data supplied by The Sports Council). The BSRA represented an example of public-private partnership based on recognition of mutual interests. An essential feature of these mutual interests was economic diversification based on a greater emphasis on service sector activities. Although the BSRA involved a partnership between the City Council and the private sector, it is important to note that whilst there was only one City Council, the private sector is an umbrella term for a varied set of actors. Consequently, the term partnership does not indicate a specific pattern of relations, but rather a consensus concerning co-operation and comprises of a number of different partnerships.

As such, City Council relations with Brindleyplace plc, Hyatt, Novotel, and NEC Ltd were all distinctive and determined by the specific needs of each project. The major theme was a division of responsibilities. Although the City Council initiated the project by funding projects such as the ICC with the help of some grants, subsequent projects such as Brindleyplace and the future Arena Central

¹⁶ Quote taken from interview

comprised private sector money and local authority control of planning. This was a response to the fact that whilst the City Council were funding redevelopment and marketing in the early days of the BSRA, it was the private sector who were benefiting from this expenditure. Increased private sector investment aimed to redress this balance.

Jim Tully remembered that in the wake of recession, the City Council took a conscious decision to ‘bolster service sector jobs’ having viewed the city centre ‘as an economic entity that was under-exploited’¹⁷. Speaking for the city’s business interests, Sean Somers highlighted the mutual benefits of the BSRA by stating that ‘a deliberate move of the NEC and ICC has been to give the region a new diversity within this [service] sector’¹⁸. Commenting on the planning department’s extensive work and co-operation with the private sector, Norman Gallagher pointed out that business tourism in Birmingham did not develop through ‘some sort of *laissez-faire* private market’ but was ‘planned by the City Council who acted in a management role for Broad Street’¹⁹.

Overall, the expansion of the service sector was both an economic and a political phenomenon. Kerry Morris was a senior manager with Brindleyplace plc and was actively involved in planning meetings with Jim Tully. She characterised the mutual benefits of the redevelopment as being economic benefits for businesses and marketing benefits for the City Council. Consequently, she stated that the

¹⁷ Quote taken from interview

¹⁸ Quote taken from interview

BSRA ‘bring[s] people to the city and help[s] to change the image of the city into a true business city’²⁰. Sean Somers echoed this belief and went further by suggesting that Birmingham would eventually ‘become an international city’ based on a ‘focus for culture and business tourism’²¹.

In summary, the BSRA was a method of enabling economic diversification in the wake of declining traditional economies, capitalising on the success of the NEC and underpinning City Council attempts to revitalise and market the city centre. As such, the BSRA was an expression of new patterns of social regulation, and enabled new forms of capital accumulation to develop.

4.4.3, Place marketing: Social regulation of local imagery

Chapter Two argued that marketing is an essential site of regulation because of the way it serves the economy and legitimates local political actors. This section highlights the importance of marketing and the way it reflects the partnership nature of the BSRA’s development. Having argued in Chapters One and Two that redevelopment enabled new patterns of capital accumulation to develop, the next question is how place marketing supported attempts to develop new accumulation with the redevelopment as a basis, and therefore acted as an element of social regulation.

¹⁹ Quote taken from interview

²⁰ Quote taken from interview

The construction of the ICC represented a dominating influence over the rest of the redevelopment, and despite some ambiguity over the term, can be described as a flagship development (Bianchini et al, 1990). Although representing new economic relations, the redevelopment also underpinned a re-imaging process.

Arguing that Broad Street represented attempts to construct a central business district - though overlooking service sector diversity, Loftman & Nevin (1992) identify similarities with American redevelopments in 'rust-belt' regions, with flagship projects representing a new era of success and prestige (illustrated by McCarthy, 1995; Dutton, 1991; Hambleton, 1991). Cherry also identifies flagship project as illustrative of the city's fortunes, though recognising the influential role of marketing. He continues that such a flagship project aimed to 'signal the revival of a city badly hit by the recession of 1981-84 and of a region undergoing profound economic change' (Cherry, 1994; 218).

It has been shown in Chapter Two that place marketing is an active recognition of the competitive nature of urban resources (Fretter, 1993). In relation to Birmingham, the city faced competition for conferences and prestige events from Britain and abroad. Flagship projects formed an important aspect of Birmingham's place marketing which 'involves the aggressive marketing of the city and the promotion of growth at all costs' (Hambleton cited in Loftman & Nevin, 1992: 31).

²¹ Quote taken from interview

In addition to attracting business, place marketing involved a complementary process of redefining the city's image. Carried out by the City Council in their City Pride programme (BCC, 1995a; 1997a) and the private sector through BMP and Birmingham 2000, marketing identified the arts, retail, and business as the future image for the city (BCC, 1995a).

As a background, a series of events aimed at putting Birmingham 'on the map' challenged the city's existing image of unsightly industry and concrete jungles. Starting around 1986, one of the first major pieces of place marketing since the initiation of the BSRA was the city's bid for the 1992 Olympic games, costing between £2.5m (Express & Star, 21/9/90) and £2m (BCC, 1986: 25). Barcelona subsequently hosted the games. At the same time, Birmingham spent £2.5m (Birmingham Post, 30/11/90), including £1,072,440 alone on administration (BCC, 1985; 1986b; 1987b; 1988b), on holding the 'Super Prix'; with formula 1 style racing in the city centre. While the Olympic bid and Super Prix dominated place marketing in the 1980s, the 1990s featured an emphasis on arts and culture as Sadlers Wells Royal Ballet and the D'Oyly Carte Opera Company relocated in Birmingham. The transitory nature of place marketing was evident through D'Oyly Carte's decision to move to Wolverhampton a couple of years later. More directly related to the BSRA, during the major years of redevelopment, 1983-1991, the City Council spent £6,737,523 marketing the city through the Birmingham Convention and Visitor Bureau Ltd - the annual breakdown of

spending is shown in table 4.2 below. The Bureau was a company that ‘boost[ed] the promotion and publicity of the city’ (BCC, 1985:50).

Table 4.2: Spending by Birmingham City Council on Birmingham Convention and Visitor Bureau Ltd. (1983-1991)

1983/84	1984/85	1985/86	1986/87	1987/88
£668,483	£715,000	£752,470	£866,410	£952,800

1988/89	1989/90	1990/91	Total 1983-91
£886,000	£907,800	£988,560	£6,737,523

Source: BCC, 1985; 1986b; 1987b; 1988b; 1990b; 1991b; 1992; 1993d

This emphasis on the arts directly challenged the smokestack image of Birmingham as ‘one of the lesser cities of the former Russian Federal Republic’ (The Guardian, 16/3/98). Birmingham City Council (1995a) clearly identified benefits to the local economy from marketing Birmingham as a ‘city of culture’. Based on this rationale, redefined priorities in public spending came about. Although problematic to construct direct links between council budgets, over £7.5m was spent on marketing projects of dubious benefit to local people such as the Olympic Bid, the Super Prix and Theatre improvements whilst £1.5m was cut from the City Council’s voluntary sector financial assistance (Loftman & Nevin, 1992).

Overall, Birmingham’s marketing acknowledges an image problem and a need to overcome this problem if business tourism is to flourish. Having failed to capture the Olympics in Birmingham, Norman Gallagher stated that the general view of

the Council was ‘the city had lost out because of the poor city image’²². He continued by stating how this was compounded by ‘a list of the 100 best places to visit. [In which] Birmingham came 97th, behind Reykjavik and only beating places such as Istanbul’²³.

Evidence from interviews and publications shows the City Council was the initiator of the marketing process. Recently though, the private sector has become more active through the construction of public-private partnerships such as Birmingham Marketing Partnership.

Respondents from the City Council measured the success of the city’s marketing programme through the attraction of visitors to the city and the development of leisure. This was in contrast with private sector interviewees who measured change predominantly through benefits to local business. In practice, it is impossible to separate the two elements, more visitors and the development of a service sector both rely on the same marketing images. After the Olympic bid failure, Dave Cassidy felt that a more important element of marketing and economic development was ‘that people are coming to Birmingham and taking away the message that the city is a good place to visit’²⁴. He believed that this was possible through attracting major events such as ‘The Lions, the G8 summit

²² Quote taken from interview

²³ Quote taken from interview

²⁴ Quote taken from interview

and the Eurovision Song Contest'²⁵ (in 1998) as well as such events being evidence of Birmingham's new vitality.

In addition to large-scale events, another measure of success in terms of city centre redevelopment was the favourable responses of visitors from other authorities, in this both country and abroad. Norman Gallagher was heavily involved in such civic visits due to his senior position in planning. He commented that visiting civic dignitaries were 'impressed' by the city and by what he termed a 'series of pearls on a string' referring to the improved and developed 'public squares, public art and pedestrianisation'²⁶. On a more pragmatic level, Stephen Thomson believed that the City Council had a central role to play in this overall re-imaging process. He stated that 'people who are going to invest in the city or visit as business tourists need good quality facilities to attract them', as such the City Council 'need to subsidise the CBSO and other similar ventures'²⁷.

Lorna Wallace, who was previously in charge of Brindleyplace's marketing, believed the private sector were able to 'capitalise on the marketing Birmingham [City Council] has done'²⁸. However, she pointed out that this was not just a one-sided relationship by stating how 'Birmingham's advertising helps Brindleyplace and the presence of Brindleyplace helps Birmingham to advertise'²⁹. Like Kerry Morris, she was involved in planning meetings with Jim Tully and other members

²⁵ Quote taken from interview

²⁶ Quotes taken from interview

²⁷ Quote taken from interview

²⁸ Quote taken from interview

²⁹ Quote taken from interview

of the City Council. With reference to the co-operative nature of these meetings she supported Kerry Morris's view that BCC and the private sector 'worked well together because of having the same aim for the city as a centre for business and tourism with a clean, safe image, as well as a successful economy'³⁰.

Overall, Birmingham's place marketing divides into two phases, identifiable both by date and by the content of the marketing process. The first phase of marketing during the 1980s was the large-scale media events that caught media headlines in a short-term manner such as the Olympic bid and the Super Prix. Relatively transitory in their input to the marketing process, despite being very noticeable, they attempted to place Birmingham in the same category as cities such as Los Angeles and Monaco. What was crucial to this marketing was, therefore, publicity by association with other places whereby the success of other Olympic and motor racing cities transferred to Birmingham. These events in Birmingham's marketing portfolio were somewhat crude though because they only gained media attention, rather than defining the character of the city.

The second phase of marketing occurred during the 1990s and was a more subtle approach to marketing. Rather than grabbing headlines alone, it attempted to portray a particular character for the city of cultural and aesthetic renewal (BCC, 1995a; 1997a). Within this framework, public art represented new images of the city (Hall, 1997a; 1997b), marketed through ongoing social and cultural events

³⁰ Quote taken from interview

such as Sadlers Wells and D'Oyly Carte. Unlike the previous phase, this represented a partnership between the City Council and the private sector.

4.4.4, Public-private partnership: Local governance regimes

Having identified a history of economic decline as a catalyst to redevelopment, a further question concerned how regeneration framed the formulation of new social and economic objectives. The role of partnerships was important in the BSRA, not only as a method of planning and communication, but also as a means of identifying goals for the redevelopment and reaching compromises regarding these goals. Consequently, the partnership played an important role in the social regulation of economic and social objectives, constituting a local governance regime that shaped local social regulation.

Motivation for the partnership was an attempt to regain economic and political stability. Overall, and in light of the regular and co-operative meetings between the City Council and the private sector, Jim Tully believed there to be a distinct public-private partnership held together by 'a very consensual relationship... based on the acceptance that both [sectors] benefit from these plans'³¹. With this synthesis of political and economic forces in mind, Jim Tully stated it was possible to 'reconstruct both the city centre and the local economy'³².

³¹ Quote taken from interview

³² Quote taken from interview

Acknowledging this duality of economic and political interests, the City Council believed that while the private sector needed profit to attract investment, Norman Gallagher through his role in planning saw the local authority as both ‘enabler and manager’³³. Identifying an apparent division of responsibilities, Sean Somers provided an analysis of the private sector. He stated that in relation to public-private partnerships, the ‘City Council retains a responsibility for welfare’ whilst organisations such as the BCCI have ‘a civic duty to business and the economy of the city’³⁴. Central to this analysis of the division of responsibilities, Sean Somers pointed out that ‘a strong economy and the creation of wealth are not at odds with social welfare’³⁵.

Sean Somers was another person from the private sector who was very involved in planning decisions with Jim Tully, Norman Gallagher and others. He noted that despite social and economic objectives not being mutually exclusive, an essential role of the partnership was to produce compromise regarding conflicting objectives of the partners. This indicated a degree of conflict between political and commercial objectives, with an example evident in drafting the future UDP. Sean Somers stated that the City Council had approached the Chamber for advice on the content and general direction, with the UDP being a joint venture. Sean Somers believed this meant the BCCI were to have a formal input into content of the new UDP. Norman Gallagher however refuted this, commenting that the

³³ Quote taken from interview

³⁴ Quotes taken from interview

BCCI was ‘welcome to make comments, but the City Council constructs the document and has final say on all matters’³⁶. Whilst it was impossible to gauge exactly what correspondence travelled between the two, the key issue is the way in which the partnership, though based on mutual interests, had the potential for conflict over decision-making.

Despite this, there was a belief that the partnership was generally harmonious due to the different skills each partner possessed and a division of responsibilities. Characterising this division, Jim Tully felt the City Council retained ‘significant influence over planning and design’³⁷, whilst limited resources meant the private sector was a necessary partner in the development though ‘not subordinate in the relationship’³⁸. Although the City Council and private sector worked together previously with the NEC, the BSRA represented a new method of working together. Heavily involved in representing the interests of local businesses as well as having regular and formal contacts with the City Council, Sean Somers felt that historically, ‘redevelopment came [about] through Council spending while the private sector provided knowledge and expertise’³⁹. He continued by stating that recent experiences showed how ‘this has changed, there has been more spending by the private sector as the Council faces budget cutbacks’⁴⁰.

³⁵ Quote taken from interview

³⁶ Quote taken from interview

³⁷ Quote taken from interview

³⁸ Quote taken from interview

³⁹ Quote taken from interview

⁴⁰ Quote taken from interview

Overall, recognition of mutual benefit underpinned the creation of partnerships, as illustrated by the locally specific nature of the partnership. Dave Cassidy noted that a central theme of the partnership was the ‘local focus of the City Council’⁴¹. As such, local issues determined the City Council’s agenda rather than political divisions, leading to what Dave Cassidy termed ‘a shared vision of the city’⁴². With recognition of mutual interest combined with a City Council consensus around local issues, decision-making occurred through what Lorna Wallace defined as a ‘negotiated stance’⁴³. Through her experience of meetings with the City Council and knowledge of private sector demands in redevelopment, she developed this idea to show how disagreements were resolved through a series of concessions based on a ‘a mutual trust in each other’s abilities and aims’⁴⁴.

Underpinning this trust was a division of responsibility mentioned earlier, which Lorna Wallace characterised as ‘the [City] Council has taken on a managerial and co-ordinating role and left the private sector to deal with the financial aspect’⁴⁵. In reality, the roles were not as clear-cut as Lorna Wallace stated, though she did identify a general position. Whilst the City Council provided some money for the redevelopment, this declined over time and their major role became planning. Likewise, the private sector was important in identifying planning goals, though the main input into the BSRA was financial.

⁴¹ Quote taken from interview

⁴² Quote taken from interview

⁴³ Quote taken from interview

⁴⁴ Quote taken from interview

⁴⁵ Quote taken from interview

Consequently, the City Council determined the general content while budgetary constraints limited them from carrying out these plans themselves (unlike the civic quarter - see page 162), identifying the City Council as the initial source of ideas to redevelop Broad Street. The formation of what Stephen Thomson termed a 'partnership based on a local focus'⁴⁶, led to urban policy being formulated and enacted on a local rather than national level. Lorna Wallace believed that this meant Birmingham has not had central government urban policy foisted on it in the form of Enterprise Zones or Urban Development Corporations 'because there was already a private sector willing to support redevelopment'⁴⁷.

Overall, the formation and development of partnerships between the City Council and the private sector underpinned the BSRA's success. Through access to land, capital and political power, the partnership featured a division of responsibilities between commercial and managerial and recognised mutual interests.

4.5, Locally specific outcomes of the redevelopment process

Having examined locally specific factors that have shaped the redevelopment process, the case study proceeds by looking at how this led to locally specific experiences and outcomes of the redevelopments.

⁴⁶ Quote taken from interview

⁴⁷ Quote taken from interview

4.5.1, Local regeneration

Underpinning redevelopment as a tool of regeneration was a belief, especially by the City Council, in a 'trickle-down' theory - an assumption that investment would benefit the region generally. Attempting to relate the BSRA to the rest of the city in terms of regeneration is problematic because many areas had varying needs after the decline of manufacturing. Specifically, it was inner-city, working class areas such as Ladywood that were most affected and, therefore, most in need of regeneration. Consequently, the thesis focuses on one particular area of the city and assesses the BSRA's impact.

As such, the case study continues by examining the relationship between the BSRA and Ladywood, an inner-city area that neighbours the redevelopment. Ladywood is chosen for three reasons. Firstly, it typified many inner city areas adversely affected by decline in traditional economies and one of the areas most in need of regeneration. Secondly, its proximity to the redevelopment illustrated distinctions between 'old' and 'new' Birmingham. Thirdly, there have been previous investigations into the relationship between Ladywood and the BSRA, which were useful by providing a source of quantitative data. However, this research develops such studies by, initially, including qualitative data of local experiences within this chapter and, additionally, an analysis of local relations in the context of regime formation in Chapter Six.

Adjacent to Broad Street, and indicative of its economic past, is the Ladywood area of Birmingham - Ladywood begins immediately to the west, as shown in figure 4.1). Referring to the 1991 census, the area comprised of 22,266 residents, by 1998 this had risen to 27,100⁴⁸, with the area featuring levels of unemployment persistently higher than the city's average. Providing an insight into the socio-economic position of Ladywood, the vast majority of these households had no access to a car, with 1,098 of the 11,250 households consisting of single parents suggesting that Ladywood has high levels of deprivation. The housing in Ladywood was predominately council housing or housing association and further reflected the working class nature of the area. Consequently, most of the housing comprised flats, terrace, or semi-detached, with only 424 out of 11,250 households living in detached houses (Census, 1991). Putting Ladywood into a national context, out of 8,414 English wards, Ladywood ranks 346⁴⁹ for multiple deprivation, 317 for income and 234 for child poverty, placing Ladywood within the lowest 5% of English wards (www.statistics.gov.uk/neighbourhood/home.asp).

Whilst there is a wealth of literature dealing with policies regarding retraining and increasing the flexibility of the work force (Birmingham City Council, 1993a; 1994a; 1994b), City Council vagueness concerning the benefits of regeneration was indicative of the faith placed in trickle-down economics. Problematically, the channels through which the money would trickle down and the extent to which it

⁴⁸ www.statistics.gov.uk/neighbourhood/home.asp

⁴⁹ 1 = most deprived

trickled down were neither identified nor measured. Dave Cassidy, commenting on a general belief within the City Council's economic development department pointed out how trickle-down or 'cascade theory' was an essential justification for the redevelopment. He continued that there was an implicit belief that the redevelopment 'levered in a great deal of European money that was not previously forthcoming'⁵⁰ and this money benefited local people. Central to this was the role of the BSRA as a flagship project that attracted people to the city. With this role in mind, Norman Gallagher, who was involved in the planning process, stated that the ICC in particular 'was never seen as a profit-making tool through which the city could be regenerated'⁵¹. Instead, and reasserting the centrality of trickle-down, he believed that the BSRA was 'more of a shop window and advert for the city'⁵².

By the late-1990s, there was a general disbelief in the merits of trickle-down within the City Council. Jim Tully commented that it was 'now not so widely accepted'⁵³, while Stephen Thomson stated that despite initial confidence in the idea, most people in the City Council 'don't believe it anymore'⁵⁴. However, despite such rejections, Jim Tully acknowledged that the original logic behind the BSRA was definitely that 'the regenerative effects of increasing the service sector would have trickle-down effects on the local economy'⁵⁵. Although there are

⁵⁰ Quote taken from interview

⁵¹ Quote taken from interview

⁵² Quote taken from interview

⁵³ Quote taken from interview

⁵⁴ Quote taken from interview

⁵⁵ Quote taken from interview

doubts regarding the wisdom of such beliefs, it was too late to reverse decisions made on the strength of these beliefs.

Despite a reliance on trickle-down economics during the redevelopment, City Council budget reports showed the redevelopment was less than successful. Whilst the NEC continued to make a profit, the ICC, NIA and BSRA repeatedly made significant losses. A decline in gross spending on education from 43% of the budget to 31% supported Byrne's (1995a) claim that around £50m was redirected from spending on education to finance prestige redevelopment in the city centre - further support for such claims are detailed in table 4.3. Correspondence with the current leader of the City Council and the City Council finance department argued that net spending on education is a more accurate figure. However, when comparing the two figures, little difference is evident. Both sets of data overleaf show a decreased share of the City Council budget allocated to education during the period that the City Council was financing prestige projects.

There was an admission from Frank Bennett, a former chair of the City Council's ICC/NEC committee and councillor for Ladywood, that the City Council diverted spending towards the BSRA. Answering specific claims that money was diverted from the city's education budget (Byrne, 1995a), he stated that the rationale behind such a decision was that financing the BSRA was important enough to take money from other budgets. Sandra Hughes, the current leader of the City Council supported this fact. In many respects Sandra Hughes was in a position to criticise

the redevelopment's funding because it reflected on Stephen Thomson rather than her. Indeed, she was elected Council Leader on a programme of opposing high levels of public funding for redevelopment projects, placing her in conflict with Stephen Thomson's style of leadership. Reflecting on the 1980s and first half of the 1990s, she supported Frank Bennett's claims that 'money was redirected from the education budget, not directly, but through under-spending. Birmingham was well down on the metropolitan list of spending on education'⁵⁶. Norman Gallagher also admitted that the Council 'under-spent by £50m in order to finance the redevelopment'⁵⁷. However, speaking from a planning perspective, he justified such spending decisions by stating that although local schools needed money, they would not bring 'long-term benefits for the city or unemployed'⁵⁸. Criticism of this policy was dismissed by Norman Gallagher as 'the politics of envy'⁵⁹, and further identifying the BSRA as an aspect of business tourism, he continued that the redevelopment was 'not for local people'⁶⁰.

Overall, the diversion of NEC profits into the BSRA, coupled with the extension of loan stock, amounted to a re-mortgaging of the NEC. The local press, broadly critical of the regenerative impact of the redevelopment, highlighted the levels of losses made in contrast to the success of the NEC (Birmingham Post, 29/9/94; 6/7/95; Evening Mail, 12/7/93). Whilst the justification for spending this public money was that long-term regeneration would benefit the whole city (BCC,

⁵⁶ Quote taken from interview

⁵⁷ Quote taken from interview

⁵⁸ Quote taken from interview

⁵⁹ Quote taken from interview

⁶⁰ Quote taken from interview

1988a), there was little evidence of this happening. The belief that the ICC and NIA would bring £54m annually to the city (ibid.) was not only hard to measure but also problematic in terms of distribution.

In measuring popularity, the ICC, NIA and Symphony Hall have attracted large numbers of visitors to the area. Between September 1992 and August 1993, there were 1,107,000 visitors to the three centres⁶¹ (NEC Group, undated). Additionally, their role as catalysts for further development was evident through the success of the bars and clubs present along Broad Street. Despite such popularity, their economic benefit to the city was rather tenuous, with the three main venues bringing in £66m of expenditure to the West Midlands during the same period, with only £18m retained in Birmingham after leakages (ibid.).

Justifying the BSRA's creation, investment was estimated to rise by around £40m per year (Ecotec, 1983). However, there is little evidence of this happening and although it is impossible to measure indirect income from the redevelopment, the City Council's financial relationship with the BSRA has always shown an annual debt (BCC, 1985; 1986b; 1987b; 1988b; 1989b; 1990b; 1991b; 1992; 1993d; 1994f; 1995c; 1996b; 1997c).

Table 4.2, Spending by Birmingham City Council on education and prestige projects (1985-1999)

Year	1985/86	1986/87	1987/88	1988/89	1989/90	1990/91	1991/92
Committee							
NEC/ICC							
NEC profit	£1.725m	£3.152m		£-1.722m	£7.495m	£3.518m	£4m
ICC capital cost	£7.625m	£7.51m		£53.495m	£6.725m	£18.778m	£16.767m
NIA capital cost	£1.819m	£1.751m		£44.908m	£2.068m	£2.463m	£4.026m
BSRA capital cost	£2.4m	£2.4m		£2.954m	£3.054m		
ICC operating costs							£8.267m
NIA operating costs							£2.083m
Net cost	£14.627m	£10.594m		£107.135m	£18.535m	£17.66m	£25.146m
Education							
Net expenditure	£317m	£341m	£373m	£402m		£451m	£507m
Per centage of budget	43%	39%	38%	39%		33%	34%
	1992/93	1993/94	1994/95	1995/96	1996/97	1997/98	1998/99
NEC/ICC							
NEC profit	£11.646m	£22.438m	£25.675m	£25.455m	£30.692m	£25.299m	£43.508m
ICC capital cost	£20.291m	£17.701m					
NIA capital cost	£4.172m	£4.237m					
BSRA capital cost							
ICC operating costs	£7.982m	£6.377m	£6.105m	£3.785m	£5.776m	£3.593m	£3.357m
NIA operating costs	£2.417m	£1.898m	£0.577m	£1.071m	£1.399m	£1.071m	£1.424m
Net cost	£20.798m	£21.570m	£23.188m	£27.857m	£18.865m	£27.857m	£10.251m
Education							
Net expenditure	£557m	£511m	£542m	£572m	£562m	£572m	£603m
Per centage of budget	32%	30%	31%	31%	31%	31%	31%

Source: BCC 1985; 1986b; 1987b; 1988b; 1989b; 1990b; 1991b; 1992; 1993d; 1994f; 1995c; 1996b; 1997c; 1998a

⁶¹ICC = 114,000; Symphony Hall = 409,000; NIA = 584,000.

Birmingham City Council constructed a strong causal relationship between a successful ICC and a successful economy, underpinning the City Council's optimism was the claim that around 10,000 indirect jobs, 600 construction jobs, and 2,000 permanent jobs would be created (Ecotec, 1983). Looking at the City Council's initial approach to the BSRA, the Council Leader at the time, Stephen Thomson, believed the redevelopment would 'create 6-7,000 jobs on the back of the redevelopment' and be 'a catalyst for other projects'⁶².

Overall, there was little in the way of investigation of how these objectives would come about. Stephen Thomson's claims for job creation, which exceeded even those of the Ecotec report, suggested an element of uncalculated optimism. His attitude reflected this optimism towards the types of job created. There was a starting point of realism, accepting that 'the days of well-paid manual work are gone', though in the face of criticism that the BSRA would only provide poor quality employment, he stated that 'the service sector is not a dirty word'⁶³.

Final job figures turned out to be more modest than Stephen Thomson hoped, with 300 permanent jobs at the ICC and 100 at the NIA by the mid-1990s (NEC Group, undated). The optimism shown by the City Council was short-lived when the ICC began making redundancies in 1994 (Evening Mail, 12/2/94). Despite such original hopes, Birmingham City Council admitted that job opportunities from the redevelopment would be 'relatively modest' and 'employment growth was likely to

⁶² Quotes taken from interview

⁶³ Quote taken from interview

be significantly slower than output growth within the city's service sector.' (BCC, 1994b)

An economic impact study carried out in 1993 (ten years after the Ecotec study) was more conservative regarding job creation, reporting that people from outside the city would take many of the better jobs. With only 50.7% of direct employment and 29.9% of indirect employment at the ICC/NIA going to Birmingham people (KPMG, 1993), it questioned claims that the investment in flagship projects benefits the city's economy.

It was stated earlier that Ladywood is typical of the sort of inner city area that needed regeneration most after the decline of traditional economies. One of the most fundamental ways of bringing about regeneration was through job creation. However, it is doubtful whether the BSRA was the best method of creating jobs or inspiring an economic upturn. Put simply, the redirection of public funding would be acceptable if the returns from redevelopment justified such spending. However, the BSRA was a gamble and has not, overall, paid off.

By the mid-1980s, unemployment in Birmingham reached 22.6%. By the time the ICC opened in 1991, it was down to around 12%; back up to 18.5% by 1993 and down to 10.6% by 1997 (BEIC, 1998). Unemployment in Ladywood followed a similar path, from being around 20% in the mid-1980s, it went as low as 10.9% in 1990. With promises that the ICC and BSRA would regenerate the city through a trickle down of wealth, it was expected that unemployment in Ladywood would

not reach the heights seen in the mid-1980s. However, unemployment in Ladywood rose through the 1990s as the BSRA attracted increasing numbers of visitors, exceeding 20% by 1998 and currently being just below that figure⁶⁴. By December 1997, unemployment in Ladywood, as well as in the six other inner-city wards⁶⁵, was over three times the UK rate (BEIC, 1998). Evidence suggests that despite the popularity of the ICC and the BSRA in general, those living in Ladywood or other inner-city areas experienced little of this success. While there were changes in Ladywood’s unemployment rate (see tables 4.4 and 4.5), this only echoed city-wide changes, thereby intimating that such changes were not a result of the BSRA. Furthermore, Ladywood’s unemployment rates remained consistently higher than the rest of the city, showing the BSRA did not benefited Ladywood relative to the rest of Birmingham.

Table 4.4: Unemployment in Ladywood and Birmingham immediately before the ICC and other BSRA projects opened.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Male (%)</u>	<u>Female (%)</u>	<u>Total (%) {B’ham}</u>
October 1986	25.5	14.6	21.1 {13.4}
April 1987	24.2	13.5	19.9 {12.4}
October 1987	21.3	12.3	17.7 {11.1}
April 1988	19.5	11.3	16.2 {9.8}
October 1988	18.4	10.6	15.3 {8.0}
April 1989	15.6	8.1	12.6 {6.7}
October 1989	13.9	7.1	11.2 {5.9}
April 1990	13.8	6.7	10.9 {5.6}
October 1990	13.8	6.5	10.9 {5.7}
April 1991	17.2	7.6	13.4 {8.0}

Source: Data supplied by Birmingham Economic Information Centre

⁶⁴ Data from the monthly issued BEIC Labour Market Review and the Employment Service West Midlands Labour Market Review.

⁶⁵ Handsworth, Aston, Nechells, Small Heath, Sparkbrook, and Sparkhill

Figure 4.5: Unemployment in Ladywood once the ICC and BSRA were completed and established.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Male (%)</u>	<u>Female (%)</u>	<u>Total (%) {B'ham}</u>
September 1993	43.3	16.2	31.8 {10.9}
September 1994	40.0	15.2	29.5 {9.8}
August 1995	37.0	13.6	27.0 {8.5}
September 1996	36.1	14.7	27.0 {7.4}
September 1997	30.7	12.5	23.0 {5.4}
April 1998	26.8	10.6	20.0 {4.9}
October 1998	27.9	10.9	20.7 {4.6}
April 1999	27.1	10.2	19.9 {4.9}
October 1999	26.2	9.3	19.0

Source: Data supplied by Birmingham Economic Information Centre

Summarising the view of the City Council’s Economic Development Department, Dave Cassidy argued that market forces determined jobs and that an inevitable outcome of the market was service sector expansion. However, subsequent low quality employment represented was a significant barrier to social and economic regeneration.

Margaret Blessington was a representative of Ladywood Forum, a community group formed initially to represent the interest of those in public sector housing, with the organisation developing to become a source of mutual support and communication within the area. Margaret Blessington’s responses were useful because she knew many people and was in touch with attitudes within Ladywood. She pointed out that despite ‘a great deal of talk about regeneration’ from the City Council, many people from Ladywood only gained jobs in ‘cleaning and

security'⁶⁶. Problematically, she added that many local people did not fit the new job profiles. She remembered that 'most adverts asked for knowledge of at least one other European language and there was not time to retrain people the redevelopment was so fast'⁶⁷. Asked if there was a similar belief in trickle-down within the local community to the one within the City Council, she said that there was no perceivable evidence. Putting a different perspective on the idea of trickle-down, she said that not only did she see no evidence of it happening, she actually believed that the redevelopment was increasingly separate from Ladywood, stating that whilst local people had not benefited from the jobs created, they also failed to benefit from any increased local spending by visitors to the city. Ultimately, she stated that 'people from the redevelopment do not tend to stray into Ladywood'⁶⁸.

Underpinning BSRA's failure to regenerate the city's economy was a reliance on the service sector. Initial research by the West Midlands Low Pay Unit, in conjunction with Birmingham University, highlighted a range of the associated problematic themes (Centre for Urban and Regional Research, undated)⁶⁹. Increased levels of temporary work and casual employment⁷⁰ undermined demand within the local economy. Despite this, Birmingham City Council still maintained that the investment in the city 'created a buoyant and successful marketplace in the

⁶⁶ Quotes taken from interview

⁶⁷ Quote taken from interview

⁶⁸ Quote taken from interview

⁶⁹The initial research was part of a research proposal submitted to the Joseph Rowntree Foundation that failed to secure funding.

⁷⁰Nearly 75% of employees of NEC Ltd are 'casual staff'; 1,100 permanent compared with 3,000 casual (NEC Group, undated).

city' as reflected by increased office space within the city, especially at Brindleyplace.

From the private sector, there was a more qualified belief in the BSRA's ability to regenerate. Identifying a dominant mood among members of the BCCI, there was feeling that the private sector had inherited expectations for regeneration from the City Council. Believing that 'trickle-down does not work on its own'⁷¹ Sean Somers felt that there had been an attempt to redefine welfare. However, the nature of employment in this sector meant it was not enough to regenerate the city fully and there was still a need for 'intervention from the public sector in the form of targeting needs such as education and training'⁷². Sean Somers conceded that the expansion of the service sector 'has not been able to totally redress the loss of prosperity that manufacturing brought to the economy, there still remain stubborn areas of unemployment that reach up to 30%... [which] could lead to the creation of a dual city where some people feel a sense of alienation and envy unless there is the creation of opportunity for everyone'⁷³. This supported the views of people such as Margaret Blessington.

More recently, in response to criticism, pressure from local community organisations and examination of economic figures, there were increasing concerns within the City Council regarding the quality of employment and the service sector's ability to regenerate the city. Arguably, regeneration has always

⁷¹ Quote taken from interview

⁷² Quote taken from interview

⁷³ Quote taken from interview

been a justification for redevelopment, with the boosting of business tourism being the ultimate objective. However, in contrast to Stephen Thomson's claim that the service sector is not a dirty word, Dave Cassidy illustrated current thinking within the council when he stated that 'many of the new jobs created are low in quality and this does restrict spending power and demand in the local economy'⁷⁴. This was further highlighted in interviews with Sandra Hughes, speaking as Leader of the Council, she openly criticised previous City Council spending patterns and BSRA outcomes and stated that although 'it was hoped that the ICC would lead to spin-offs for the city... it has led to poor work with low pay and no unions'⁷⁵.

This raised the issue of spending and opportunity costs. Although there was a direct cost to redevelopment, there was also an opportunity cost because other opportunities were missed, such as spending on education. With this in mind, Sandra Hughes admitted that 'the money would have created more jobs if it had been spent on education'⁷⁶. Clearly, there are debatable issues within such claims, for example, all of Birmingham has benefited from environmental improvements of the city centre and canal network. However, the large-scale redirection of public funds represented a significant gamble that the City Council took with public money.

⁷⁴ Quote taken from interview

⁷⁵ Quote taken from interview

⁷⁶ Quote taken from interview

In summary, investment in the BSRA failed to regenerate areas such as Ladywood that were most in need of assistance. The fact that ‘employment growth was likely to be significantly slower than output growth within the city’s service sector’ (Birmingham City Council, 1994b: 14) was evidence that the BSRA would not provide employment for many people.

4.5.2, Community experiences of redevelopment

Chapter Two pointed out that while much of the literature focused on how members of the regime determined aims and objectives, there was little attention paid to the fact that those not involved in the regime did not have their interests represented. With this in mind, a research objective from Chapter Three is to investigate the impact of the omission of communities from regimes. Consequently, community experiences of redevelopment reflected their exclusion from planning and alienation from the BSRA.

Among local people, there was an acceptance that Birmingham’s economy was changing and that this was beyond the control of local actors. Areas of dispute largely concerned the future of the city. Gerry Lyon was chair of Birmingham for People (BfP), a pressure group aimed at giving local people more control of local planning. During the redevelopment of Broad Street, he worked with many Ladywood organisations and individuals and believed Birmingham was at a crossroads during the 1980s and chose a route ‘within offices, tourism and

shopping'⁷⁷. An accurate summation of Birmingham's new economic interests, it placed little importance on community development. Gerry Lyon believed that many of the problems faced by local people lay in the fact that 'local people and their interests did not seem to feature in Birmingham's grand plan' because partnership formation only extended to businesses and the local authority.

With this in mind, there existed a tension in relations between those living in Ladywood and the redevelopment. Although BfP looked at the political aspect of planning, community organisations highlighted day-to-day experiences. Consequently, Margaret Blessington summed up the position when she stated that 'people in the area have a different cultural position from Brindleyplace'. Based on her regular contact with local people, she illustrated this 'cultural divide' by commenting that 'culturally, the redevelopment is not in tune with the area... Local people are not hot on classical music'⁷⁸ and they feel they don't have the right clothes to go there'. Compounding this was the more material factor that many people had 'little expectation of work'⁷⁹ that prevented full participation in the redevelopment's facilities. Gerry Lyon supported this, claiming that his work with Birmingham for People showed how the 'gradual shift to offices and gentrification' alienated some from the city centre, whilst 'more private spaces and less public space' led to a 'privatised city'⁸⁰.

⁷⁷ Quote taken from interview

⁷⁸ The reference to classical music refers to Symphony Hall, a concert hall within the ICC.

⁷⁹ Quote taken from interview

⁸⁰ Quotes taken from interview

Two brief examples illustrated this point. Firstly, Andy had lived with his son on a barge in the Gas Street Basin for many years. He moved away from Birmingham, against his wishes, because of the way in which the area has changed. Before the redevelopment there was a community of boat people where Andy 'felt at home'⁸¹. However, since the redevelopment, new people came to use the area and would peer into your boat/home and stare at him for looking different. Secondly, Bill spoke of his experiences of receiving complimentary tickets for classical performances at Symphony Hall⁸². Seated at the back of the hall and wearing a 'suit jacket from the charity shop', he felt like an 'outcast'⁸³ and did not intend returning.

With reference to Birmingham's history, feelings of alienation from the city centre were highly significant. Because of the city's economy, there had been a rapid increase in population during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, leading to large housing estates. Gerry Lyon pointed out that these estates, such as Ladywood, 'had little in the way of amenities or parochial status, unlike London areas' and consequently 'residents became dependent on facilities that the city centre offered'⁸⁴.

The BSRA represented the beginning of alienation between inner-city communities and the city centre, with a general feeling that the BSRA formed a

⁸¹ Quote taken from interview

⁸² Relating to the distribution of complimentary tickets to local people, the general feeling was that tickets were only given away for unpopular mid-week events.

⁸³ Quotes taken from interview

⁸⁴ Quotes taken from interview

barrier between Ladywood and the city centre. Rhona Browning ran the Central Ladywood Community Association from the community centre in Ladywood. Like Margaret Blessington, she was active within the local community and through her regular contacts with local people was aware of local attitudes towards the BSRA. She stated that many people felt the redevelopment was ‘very separate from their area’ and ‘not widely used by local people’⁸⁵. Echoing Sean Somers’s fears of a dual city, Rhona Browning felt that ‘two cities’ were developing, ‘one for people who live in the inner city and another for people coming into the city for business or tourism’⁸⁶.

Underpinning this was the material reality highlighted by Margaret Blessington that ‘facilities [in the BSRA] are too expensive for most people in Ladywood’⁸⁷. As if to support claims of a dual city, she identified a feeling among local people, that Ladywood’s facilities were declining. It was pointed out that while Ladywood has lost its swimming baths, ‘local kids live next door to the Sea-Life centre yet can’t afford to get in’⁸⁸.

One result of the changes was that the demographics of the city centre also changed. The combination of new facilities and exclusion of local people meant that visitors to the city increasingly used the city centre at the expense of local people. Rhona Browning felt that ‘visitors are given priority over residents’ and

⁸⁵ Quotes taken from interview

⁸⁶ Quotes taken from interview

⁸⁷ Quote taken from interview

⁸⁸ Quote taken from interview

that the ‘redevelopment has been the Council’s way of changing the nature of the city’⁸⁹. This contains an element of truth as the business tourist economy means the city is more dependent on visitors to provide wealth rather than a domestic workforce.

A general community feeling stated by Rhona Browning was that BCC had ‘changed their approach to inner-city policy over the last few years’ and that this had ‘let many of the residents of Birmingham down’⁹⁰. She continued by stating that ‘the argument that this all brings money into the area is a weak one as none of that money appears to come to Ladywood’⁹¹. Identifying both social and economic aspects top regeneration, Margaret Blessington supplemented Rhona Browning’s views by adding that ‘to genuinely regenerate, an area needs to tackle issues within the community and the area’ rather than ‘pass the mandate on to a private company’⁹².

Arguing that the BSRA has excluded local people, the next issue is to examine the response of the public and private sectors. Responses from Ladywood identified a trend that local people were excluded from the planning process and a belief that their needs were ignored. The responses of some people within the private sector validated such views. With specific reference to Brindleyplace, and emphasising the commercialised nature of the city centre, Kerry Morris, a senior manager with Brindleyplace plc, argued that ‘there are new objectives in play that are embodied

⁸⁹ Quote taken from interview

⁹⁰ Quotes taken from interview

⁹¹ Quote taken from interview

in the private sector'⁹³. She continued that that local people were wrong to believe that the redevelopment was a 'public sector, local authority project'⁹⁴.

Identifying formal consultation as one method of linking local communities to the planning process, Stephen Thomson admitted that during his time as Council Leader, when the BSRA was first being planned and developed, 'consultation for the ICC was not as wide as it could have been'. Instead, he stated that demand from within the partnership for the BSRA and the opportunity of land on Broad Street took priority over community interests. Further emphasising the issue of consultation, Janet Stubbs who was a founder member of Ladywood Forum, remembered senior councillor Brian Kelly coming to talk to them about the redevelopment of Broad Street in December 1989. While Brian Kelly refused to discuss the meeting for this thesis, many people independently supported Janet Stubbs's account that 'he said if Ladywood residents did not like it [the BSRA], then it was tough as it was going ahead anyway'.

Ironically, Brian Kelly is actually a councillor for Ladywood, and it can only be presumed that his continued role as a councillor is due to local Labour Party support rather than personal popularity. Another Ladywood councillor was Frank Bennett, a former chair of the City Council's ICC/NEC Committee, he also supported the argument that 'consultation had been poor and that the views of Ladywood residents were ignored'. Commenting on local people's views

⁹² Quotes taken from interview

⁹³ Quote taken from interview

expressed at his Ladywood council surgeries, he pointed out that ‘local people don’t come to my advice surgery asking for Sea-Life centres’⁹⁵. However, he did qualify this by stating that ‘market forces dominated the redevelopment’ and that whilst local people do not use the facilities because of ‘class and money’, ‘the council can’t do anything about this’⁹⁶.

This identified a conflict between the objectives of the redevelopment and the needs of local areas such as Ladywood that the redevelopment was supposed to regenerate. One example given by many residents was the closure of the nearby swimming baths. Many people felt councillors suggested that its closure was only temporary to carry out repairs, however, it did not re-open and was subsequently demolished. Comparisons were made to the opening of the Sea-Life Centre, inferring a gentrification of leisure. This gentrification of leisure exacerbated social problems following economic restructuring, with Rhona Browning commenting that young people in the area needed more facilities and that a ‘lack of resources has led to gangs forming who cause trouble, especially vandalism and graffiti’⁹⁷. This was an issue that received popular support, with Margaret Blessington believing that cutbacks in local facilities ‘has had an adverse effect on the local community as children are bored and commit more crime, having less ties to the area’⁹⁸.

⁹⁴ Quote taken from interview

⁹⁵ Quote taken from interview

⁹⁶ Quotes taken from interview

⁹⁷ Quote taken from interview

⁹⁸ Quote taken from interview

A significant feature of the last couple of years has been a change in the City Council's approach to the redevelopment; though it is too late to change much of what has happened. Previous City Council policy was characterised by Norman Gallagher as 'redevelopment at any cost'⁹⁹. However, changes within the controlling Labour group marked a start of opposition to further redevelopments, with the new Council Leader, Sandra Hughes, elected on what she termed a 'no more prestige projects ticket'¹⁰⁰.

In summary, interviews and other evidence (Loftman and Nevin, 1990: 52-3) pointed to changes in the demographics of the city, resulting in the poor and unemployed being marginalised from the city centre. Additionally, local people were excluded from the benefits of the redevelopment as job creation remained low and the prominent role of the private sector limited the redistributive potential of the redevelopment process. Hence, a division was drawn between those who have the ability to access the social, economic and cultural benefits of the city, and those who cannot.

4.5.3, Arena Central and Broad Street's future

Despite changes within the City Council, redevelopment through partnership has become an established method of urban renewal. The most significant

⁹⁹ Quote taken from interview

¹⁰⁰ Quote taken from interview

contemporary project being the planned construction of Arena Central, a mixed-use complex, marketed as the tallest building in Britain. Offering an opportunity to examine the exact nature and division of responsibilities within the partnership, Arena Central also demonstrates how channels of communication exist beyond mere planning permission and how the development fits in with the new character of the area.

Hampton Trust, the developers, emphasised the economic value of the development to the city by pointing out that Arena Central would ‘bring new inward investment into Birmingham and create substantial new job opportunities’ (Hampton Trust, 1997: section 1.6). Despite these claims, there appears to be no analysis of how this will happen and who exactly will benefit from the redevelopment.

Despite ventures such as the NEC, which is a joint stock company, the partnership between the public and private sectors within the Broad Street context was not a purely financial partnership. Instead, the partnership was based on two clear elements; first, a relative division of responsibilities between financial and co-ordination roles, and, secondly, the establishment of channels of communication. The planned development of Arena Central provided a working example of Broad Street’s style of partnership arrangement.

The first element of this partnership was, therefore, the relative division of responsibilities between the private financial and public managerial/co-ordination

roles. The project, costing between £200m and £300m, was to be financed by Hampton Trust plc who would construct business arrangements with other companies such as The Holiday Inn, the lease being bought from the City Council (Hampton Trust, 1997; correspondence with Nick Kennedy from Hampton Trust).

The City Council has not invested any of its own capital into the project but will influence style and content through planning controls. The division of responsibilities in relation to Arena Central can be characterised as the governing capacity of the City Council and the financial power of Hampton Trust. It is the recognition of mutual benefits that has managed potential conflict between the parties.

With this division of duties, effective communication ensured both sides of the partnership worked in unison and towards a mutual vision of the area. It is, therefore, important to realise that the channels of communication between the parties were not *ad hoc*, but established and definite in terms of content and aims.

Some of the methods of communication were predetermined and were in operation since before the inception of Arena Central. Hampton Trust consulted the City Council's quarter plan for the city (BCC, 1994d) and attempted to design the building and content to suit the aims of the Convention Centre Quarter of the city (Hampton Trust, 1997: sections 2.19-20).

Another predetermined channel of communication was the City Council's Unitary Development Plan (BCC, 1993a), which focused on broader economic and cultural themes than the quartering plan (BCC, 1994d). Consequently, Hampton Trust stated that the development would help to develop the 'cultural, leisure and tourist infrastructure' in the city (1997: section 3.17). Likewise, Arena Central would lead to increased office space in the city and help to 'strengthen Birmingham's status as an international city' (sections 3.16-20).

As well as these existing methods of communication, more specific, focused channels of communication were initiated. The main element of this was working party meetings with the City Council to determine 'design parameters for the redevelopment of the site, in order for the development to respect its setting within Birmingham City Centre' (Hampton Trust, 1997: section 2.19). A series of discussions was also carried out between the City Council and Hampton Trust regarding increased transport¹⁰¹.

These channels of communication can be separated into two broad categories; generalisable and specific. Methods such as the UDP and the quartering framework are generalisable to all developments in the Broad Street area. However, the initiation of working party meetings and discussions over transport issues are specific to the Arena Central development.

¹⁰¹Minutes from the Planning Committee on 2 April 1998 demonstrate that transport concerns in relation to Arena Central are very important to the City Council.

Overall, the partnership can be defined by virtue of its methods of communication and relative division of responsibilities. This has strengthened the integrated planning strategy of the area and encouraged a long-term vision of the area.

4.6, Summary

In summary, the case study has shown how Broad Street underwent a series of changes since the last century. The street and surrounding area echoed the development of industry within the region, as well as its subsequent decline. Since the 1980s, the area has been at the forefront of expanding and developing the city's service sector.

Parallel to the history of Broad Street has been the development of the NEC, a project that had its origins in the 1950s. Its influence over the development of Broad Street in the 1980s and 1990s was unintended and demonstrated an unplanned element to the redevelopment process. However, the success of the NEC eventually proved to be a model for economic diversification as well as the potential for public-private partnership.

The recession that began in the late 1970s was the catalyst that brought together significantly the fortunes of Broad Street and the NEC. The decline in manufacturing highlighted the region's heavy dependence on manufacturing and

allied trades, the result of recession can be gauged by increasing levels of unemployment.

Since the redevelopment of Broad Street, the city's economy developed to feature a greater reliance on the service sector and business tourism. The role of the partnership was important within this through a conscious management of the redevelopment process. This highlighted how the redevelopment process was as much a political and economic phenomenon as it was physical.

The BSRA underpinned a process of re-imaging for Birmingham, which itself was carried out in partnership. Refining previous marketing in Birmingham by increasingly defining the city's image in terms of culture and the service sector, this illustrated an eclectic mix of exclusivity, leisure and work that reflected the content of the BSRA.

In the wake of recession, the BSRA was planned by the City Council as a method of economic regeneration, based on the effectiveness of trickle-down economics. By doing so, this passed some of the mandate for local welfare and economic well being of local people from the public sector to the private sector. Evidence of this was seen in the decline in education spending and the construction of the ICC to attract private investment, rather than using NEC profits to benefit the city as a whole.

However, economic regeneration has been small, particularly within inner-city communities and especially in comparison to the outlay on BSRA. Not only have essential council officials now doubted the validity of trickle-down, but community experiences of the redevelopment also demonstrate how jobs within the redevelopment have been of poor quality. The use of work as a measure of economic well-being was used extensively by the City Council. Community experiences of the redevelopment also provided evidence for arguments made in Chapter One that the redevelopment process could be analysed in terms of inequality.

In the wider context of this thesis, the case study of Broad Street will be analysed in terms of the theoretical perspectives examined in Chapters One and Two. It provides clear evidence to support arguments that capitalism progresses in a series of stages, typified by stability and crisis.

The evidence of redevelopment in Birmingham can be used to compare with evidence relating to the development of Merry Hill in the next chapter. This illustrates that although there are many similarities in their backgrounds, the redevelopment process has been very different.

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Chapter Five

Merry Hill case study

Abbreviations used:

BSC British Steel Corporation

DHSS Department of Health and Social Security

DMBC Dudley Metropolitan Borough Council

GBH Greater Brierley Hill

MP Member of Parliament

UDP Unitary Development Plan

Interviewees (all names have been changed):

Council

Tom Collins	Senior Planning Official with special responsibility for Merry Hill
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Edward Morrison	Chair of the Leisure and Development Comm.
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Terry Burchill	Senior member of the Planning Department
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Nick Miller	Brierley Hill councillor
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Steve Clark	Council Leader
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Business

Eddie Young	Centre Manager at the Waterfront and former Centre Manager of Merry Hill centre
Keith Chalmers	Centre Manager at Merry Hill
Oliver Gould	Managing Director of Chelsfield
Barry Aitkin	Store Manager of a large store in Merry Hill
Mrs Evans	General Manager of a large department store in Dudley town centre
Terry Simpson	Brierley Hill Traders' Association
John Lambert	Senior Manager, P & O Property Developments

Community

Harry Johnstone	Dudley Friends of the Earth
Fern Doyle	Hurst Hill Community Association
Mr Wilson	Sedgley Community Association
Frank Elliot	Priory Tenants' Association, Dudley
Teresa Adams	Wren's Nest Community Association, Dudley
Chris Burns	Wren's Nest Youth Centre, Dudley
Edward Connolly	Journalist

Interview data within this chapter is indicated through footnotes

5.1, Introduction

This chapter examines issues identified in Chapter Two and how these issues manifested in relation to Merry Hill. The main theme of this chapter is that despite facing similar economic changes to Birmingham, Merry Hill is significantly different to the BSRA. Whilst the previous chapter was an account of consensus and urban policy as tool to integrate the redevelopment, Merry Hill has a history of conflict and poor integration with existing facilities.

The chapter begins by examining the importance of Round Oak Steelworks, the main economic use of the land before the shopping centre which is representative of the region's traditional economy. Subsequently, comparisons between Round Oak and Merry Hill examine their backgrounds and compare Merry Hill's developers, the Richardson brothers, with the Earls of Dudley who developed Round Oak.

Having established the details of the Merry Hill complex and the role of the Richardson brothers as developers and regional entrepreneurs, the case study illustrates the conflictual relationship between the Richardsons and DMBC.

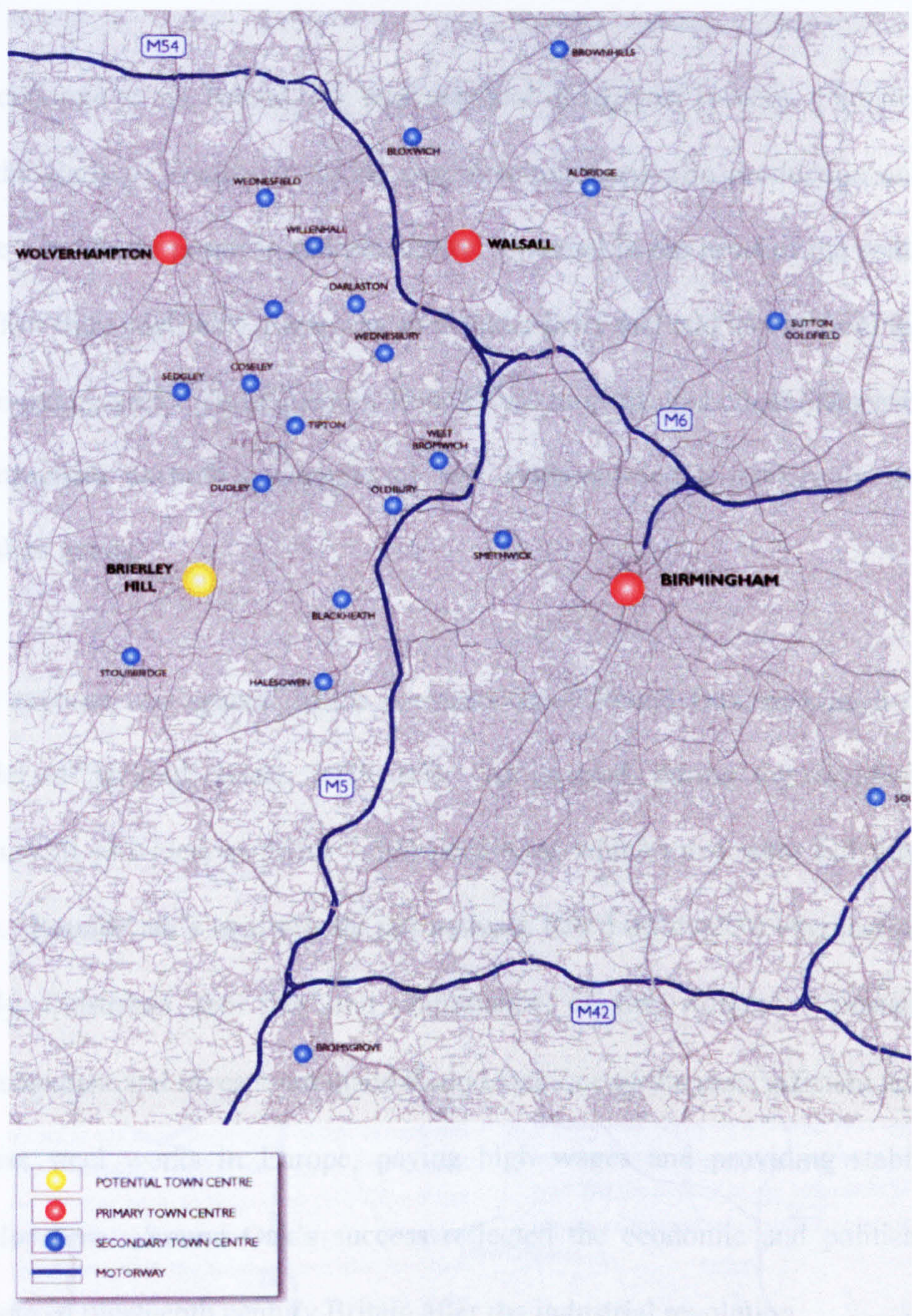
The case study concludes by examining attempts to define Merry Hill as a town centre and the current move to construct a partnership between Merry Hill's new owners, Chelsfield plc, and the Borough Council.

5.2, Local experiences of crisis

One of the research objectives is to examine how economic decline and local experiences of crisis formed a catalyst to redevelopment. Consequently, this chapter begins by providing evidence of how economic decline manifested itself in Dudley Borough - *see figure 5.1*. Referring back to Chapter One, the concept of crisis refers to a position where accumulation and regulation do not complement one another. It was shown that the starting point for crisis is economic decline, starting on a global scale and subsequently experienced locally.

When starting to construct a case study of Merry Hill, the first question to arise concerned the economic background of the region immediately before Merry Hill. A major aspect of this research is the recognition of a regime of accumulation, defined in Chapter One as ‘the economic relationship between investment, production and consumption’ (Painter, 1995: 277). Whilst rejecting economic determinism, the regime of accumulation underpins a great deal of regional stability and crisis.

Figure 5.1, Map of Brierley Hill and surrounding town/city centres



Source: Dudley MBC, 1998

In relation to this chapter, the success of Round Oak steel works, the enduring presence of regional shopping centres such as Dudley, and high levels of employment illustrated a regime of accumulation that was ‘reproduced over time’ (Jessop, 1990: 308).

In economic terms, Round Oak was a symbol of regional success. Founded by the Earls of Dudley in 1855, they revolutionised iron production and were a model of progress and modernity. Situated in the heart of the south Staffordshire coalfields, there was an abundance of fuel and labour from the surrounding area. Consequently, Round Oak soon formed close links with Birmingham as both a supplier of raw materials and a market for the finished goods.

‘No expense was spared’ in the construction of Round Oak, making it ‘a model of its kind’ (Gale, 1979: 93). At its peak during the twentieth century, it provided work for 3,500 people, of which most were full time jobs. Round Oak’s own private rail network based on modern engineering partly illustrated the size and importance of the works. Constant advancement and investment made Round Oak one of the most efficient and largest steel works in Europe, paying high wages and providing stable employment. Round Oak’s success reflected the economic and political climate of nineteenth century Britain after the industrial revolution.

Round Oak continued to prosper through the twentieth century, becoming a nationalised company as part of British Steel in 1951. Up to the 1970s, industry and manufacturing formed a mainstay of the regional economy, with 45.7% of the workforce involved in industry and manufacturing. Illustrating the extent to which the local economy relied on industry and manufacturing, only 27% of people nationally were involved in similar work. By 1996, employment in manufacturing had declined in Dudley to the extent it only accounted for 27.9% of the workforce - a notable decline though still higher than the national average of 18.25% (Census of Employment 1977, cited in DMBC Factsheet, undated; Annual census of employment cited at dudly.gov.uk/about/loceconomy/empchange81_96.htm).

By 1980, orders at Round Oak were falling and the company was operating at 30% below capacity as global competition intensified. The company at that stage only employed 2,100 workers with 1,000 other employees having been laid off in two waves of redundancy in the previous six months (Express & Star, 21/10/80; Dudley Herald, 8/8/80). Round Oak's Finance Director revealed that the works had lost £13m in the year up to April 1982 and in October 1982 borrowed more than the company was worth (Express & Star, 8/6/83).

When Round Oak finally closed in December 1982 the local community experienced a series of economic changes and local traders were aware that

these would have a secondary effect on their businesses. It was estimated at the time that unemployment would rise to 10% of the local population with a potential to hit 18% when all the secondary effects were experienced (Dudley Herald, 10/2/83).

Nick Miller lived all his life near to Brierley Hill and is a councillor with DMBC, through his local contacts, council activities, and council surgeries he had a comprehensive understanding of local sentiments. With reference to economic decline in the region during the late 1970s and early 1980s, he remembered a feeling of despair among local people when Round Oak closed, stating that ‘the closure of Round Oak had a devastating effect on the local community’, compounded by ‘many other works [that] all closed down within ten years’¹. A social dimension to Round Oak’s closure, identified in the local press, was that in addition to the economic loss, sports and social clubs provided by Round Oak also closed (Express & Star, 10/12/82).

Terry Burchill was a senior member of the Borough Council’s planning department and was involved with DMBC since economic decline first came on to DMBC’s agenda in the 1980s. Summing up the dominant view within DMBC at that time, he stated that there was a belief that ‘the decline of industry in the region was inevitable, the Council could not regenerate the land at the time’². A feeling that DMBC needed assistance was later to underpin support for the Enterprise Zones. Eventually, Terry Burchill

¹ Quotes taken from interview

commented that many people in DMBC realised that ‘even the Black Country Development Corporation was unable to save industrial jobs’³ and that there would be no industrial regeneration. This view is supported by evidence showing how since Round Oak’s closure, there was a steady decline in manufacturing work in the Borough. Between 1981 and 1996, employment in manufacturing declined from 45,487 to 30,952, an overall drop of 31.95 % (Annual census of employment cited at dudly.gov.uk/about/loceconomy/empchange81_96.htm).

After Round Oak’s closure, DMBC took caravans to various neighbourhoods where advice was given on ‘how to deal with the dole’ (Express & Star, 10/1/83). Additionally, the Council provided rooms free of charge for organisations such as the Marriage Guidance Council and the Citizens’ Advice Bureau (CAB) to counsel those being made redundant. The co-ordinator of this scheme, hoped redundant workers would ‘take the opportunity to meet old friends over a cup of coffee, and that they will form self-help groups’ (Express and Star, 4/2/80). After the closure of Round Oak, DMBC continued to see their role as co-ordinating welfare, rather than being active in the economy like Birmingham City Council. A DMBC meeting in 1982⁴ discussed ways to organise various agencies involved in supporting redundant steelworkers, including the DHSS and the Housing Benefit agencies. Evidently, DMBC did not envisage the redundant workers

² Quote taken from interview

³ Quote taken from interview

⁴ Leisure and Recreation Committee minutes, 30/12/82

being able to re-enter the labour market with ease and envisaged increased in demand for benefits.

In summary, Dudley Borough underwent a process of decline in its traditional industrial economy from the 1970s. Furthermore, there was a notable precedent for entrepreneurial activity in the region. The economic recession experienced by Dudley Borough formed a catalyst for redevelopment as traditional patterns of capital accumulation were in crisis. In Chapter One, Hamilton (1984) identified a series of factors that lay behind contraction of Western manufacturing and industrial economies. Arguably, the closure of Round Oak represented a local experience of these factors.

5.3, Locally specific factors that influenced the redevelopment process

So far, this chapter has examined local experiences of crisis. However, as mentioned in the previous case study, this largely generic context occurred outside the region and had sweeping effects within many industrial and manufacturing economies. Chapter Three identified a research objective of assessing how global economic decline determined similarities, while locally specific factors determined differences between redevelopments.

Consequently, this chapter proceeds by examining those local factors that influenced the direction of redevelopment strategies.

5.3.1, Enterprise Zones as a method of political regulation.

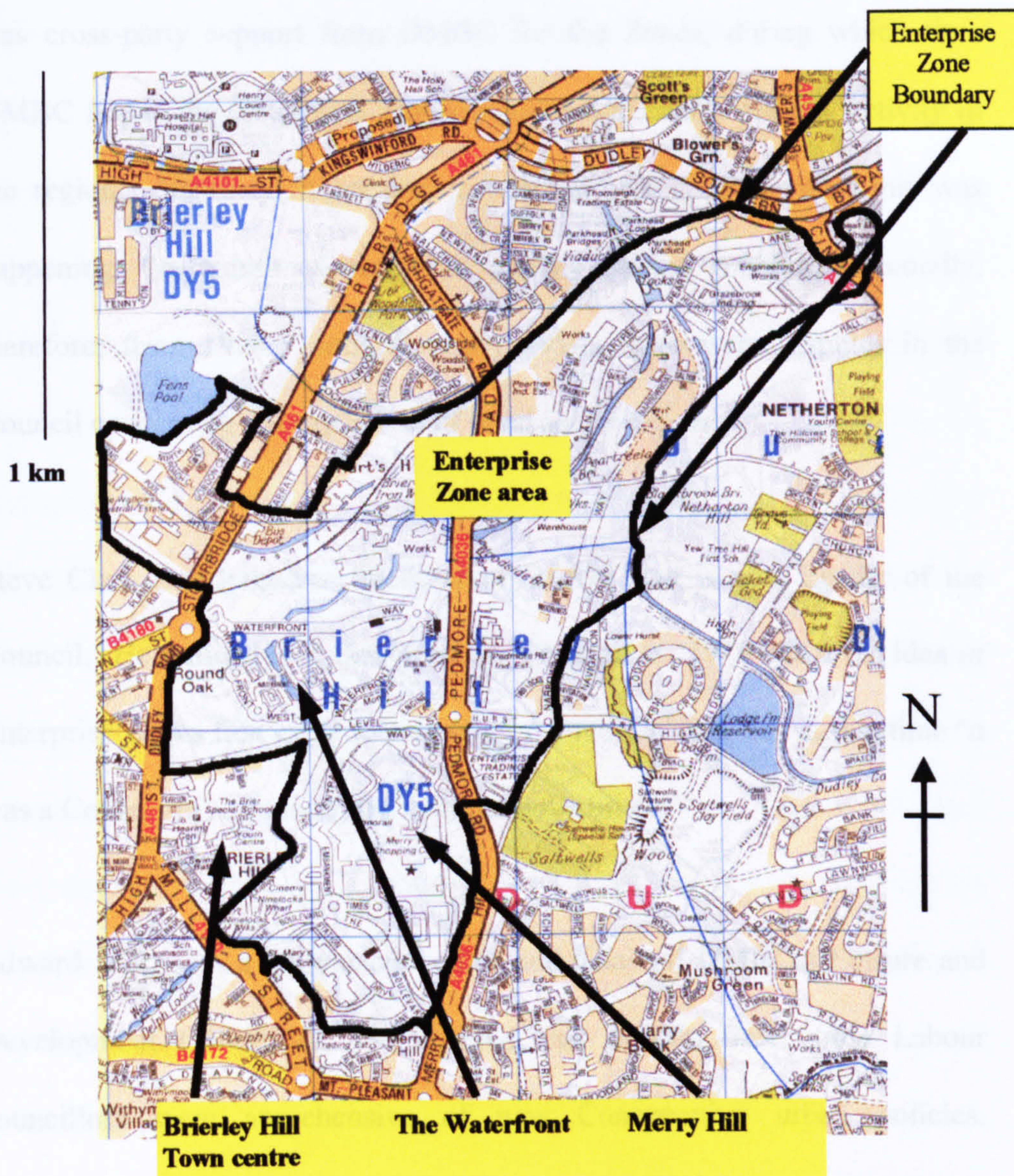
As well as providing evidence for the research objective that local factors determine differences, the first section also addresses the research objective of investigating the impact of excluding certain local actors from the planning process, arguing that redevelopment strategies represented the political and economic interests of those within local regimes. Consequently, it is equally important to note that the absence of certain local groups not only meant their interests were not represented, but will also skewed redevelopment objectives towards political and economic concerns. This section provides evidence of how the interested parties increasingly became local property developers and national political actors. Not only were local community interests marginalised, but so too was the local authority. Relations between Merry Hill on one hand, and the local authority and communities on the other hand are further examined as the chapter progresses.

Chapter One identified urban policy as influential in the redevelopment process. Looking at the two redevelopments, it is evident that urban policy was a notable difference. While the BSRA typified a generally consensual

relationship between BCC and the private sector, the creation of two Enterprise Zones where Round Oak operated divided local developers from DMBC. This section argues that the Enterprise Zones were a method of political regulation that freed local businesses from planning controls of local authorities.

The Enterprise Zones were an urban policy programme that allowed disused land to be free from rent and rates for a period of ten years. There was also a simplified procedure for gaining planning permission. Starting with the period of cross-party support, the Enterprise Zones presented a means to an end, with the end being economic growth. In an attempt to encourage economic activity and entrepreneurialism, the Conservative government announced a 500-acre Enterprise Zone in July 1981 (David Lock Associates, 1996). This did not cover the Round Oak site while the steel works were still in operation, however, a second Enterprise Zone was created in 1984 once the plant finally closed - *see figure 5.2*.

Figure 5.2, Map of the Enterprise Zones surrounding the Merry Hill development area but excluding Brierley town centre



Examining the impact of Enterprise Zones, it became evident that there were two distinct periods. Firstly, from their inception in 1981 until 1984/5, there was cross-party support from DMBC for the Zones, during which time DMBC hoped the Enterprise Zones would encourage economic activity in the region. However, it became increasingly likely that whilst this was happening, the nature of economic activity caused concern. Secondly, therefore, from 1984/5 until the early 1990s there were disputes in the Council concerning the expansion of retail in the region.

Steve Clark is a long-term member of DMBC and is now Leader of the Council. He remembered that it was as far back as ‘1979 when the idea of Enterprise Zones first came to councillors’ attention’ and that at that time ‘it was a Conservative council and national government’⁵.

Edward Morrison, a Labour councillor and Chair of DMBC’s Leisure and Development Committee, remembered that at this time some Labour councillors were apprehensive of new Conservative urban policies. However, despite these reservations, DMBC voted to bid for an Enterprise Zone. Steve Clark pointed out that Enterprise Zones ‘gained cross party support’ because ‘it was felt this would create more jobs in the region’⁶. Consequently, there was also support for the second Enterprise Zone in 1984.

⁵ Quotes taken from interview

Although formulated as a national policy, Enterprise Zones were not directly imposed on the region by central government, the local authority had to apply for Enterprise Zone status. Demonstrating the local authority's inability to stem the tide of economic decline, Enterprise Zones provided a hope for regeneration. Terry Burchill remembered that DMBC's dilemma was that 'the area was derelict and decaying' and that 'anything would have been better and the local authority was not in a position to pick and choose'⁷. With this in mind, Steve Clark said they did not know whether the Enterprise Zones would succeed, though it was hoped they 'would be good for industry, which was important because we [Dudley Borough] had the fastest unemployment growth of any borough in Britain'⁸. As such, DMBC supported Enterprise Zones when they were desperate for help with regeneration, believing the traditional industrial economy that would benefit from any regeneration. It was not until later that they began to accept the inevitability of industrial decline, by which time they had no control over planning.

Despite hopes that the Enterprise Zones would help industry (DMBC, 10/7/81; 1984), optimism was short lived. The West Midlands County Council (no longer in existence) objected to the creation of a second Enterprise Zone, with Geoff Edge from the County Council's Economic Development Unit claiming that the creation of only 150 jobs had cost the region nearly £1m in lost rates. Despite initial government led optimism

⁶ Quote taken from interview

that the Enterprise Zones would create 10,000 local jobs (County Express, 31/10/80), the scheme was eventually viewed by the government as a failure (Evening Mail, 27/4/83). Nationally, the fifteen Enterprise Zones created just under 3,000 jobs, with Dudley coming eighth having created 193 jobs. By 1989, over £18m of rates revenue was lost through the two Enterprise Zones (DMBC, 1997: 2). Steve Clark admitted that, with hindsight, 'not much happened with the Enterprise Zones while they were still trying for industry'⁹.

Against this lack of economic success, local businessmen Don and Roy Richardson bought land in the initial Enterprise Zone in June 1983. Though stating that they were unsure as to how they would use the land (House of Commons, 1994), they had implied in the media that the land was to be used for industrial purposes (Express and Star, 12/10/82). Added to this land was a further 110 acres that they had already purchased (Express & Star, June 1983). The Richardsons confirmed that it was the Enterprise Zone status and the role of Dudley Council in the zero rating of void properties that had been influential in them buying the site (House of Commons, 1994: 102-5).

During this time, Steve Clark remembered that there was a continued optimism within DMBC that Enterprise Zones would be beneficial to the area. The Enterprise Zone allowed the land to be free of taxes and rates for ten years and for planning permission to be simplified (DMBC, undated).

⁹ Quotes taken from interview

Soon after creation of the second Enterprise Zone in 1984, the Richardson brothers increased their ownership of land in the area with an apparent aim of constructing retail provision. Eddie Young was senior manager with Richardson Developments, having been Centre Manager of both Merry Hill and the Waterfront, and retained managership of the Waterfront after Chelsfield plc bought Merry Hill. He was in regular contact with the Richardson brothers and played an essential role in their business interests, especially with the Richardsons living abroad most of the year. Contrary to media reports, Eddie Young pointed out that the Richardsons believed 'industry had clearly finished and a new type of economic activity was needed if the region was to succeed'¹⁰.

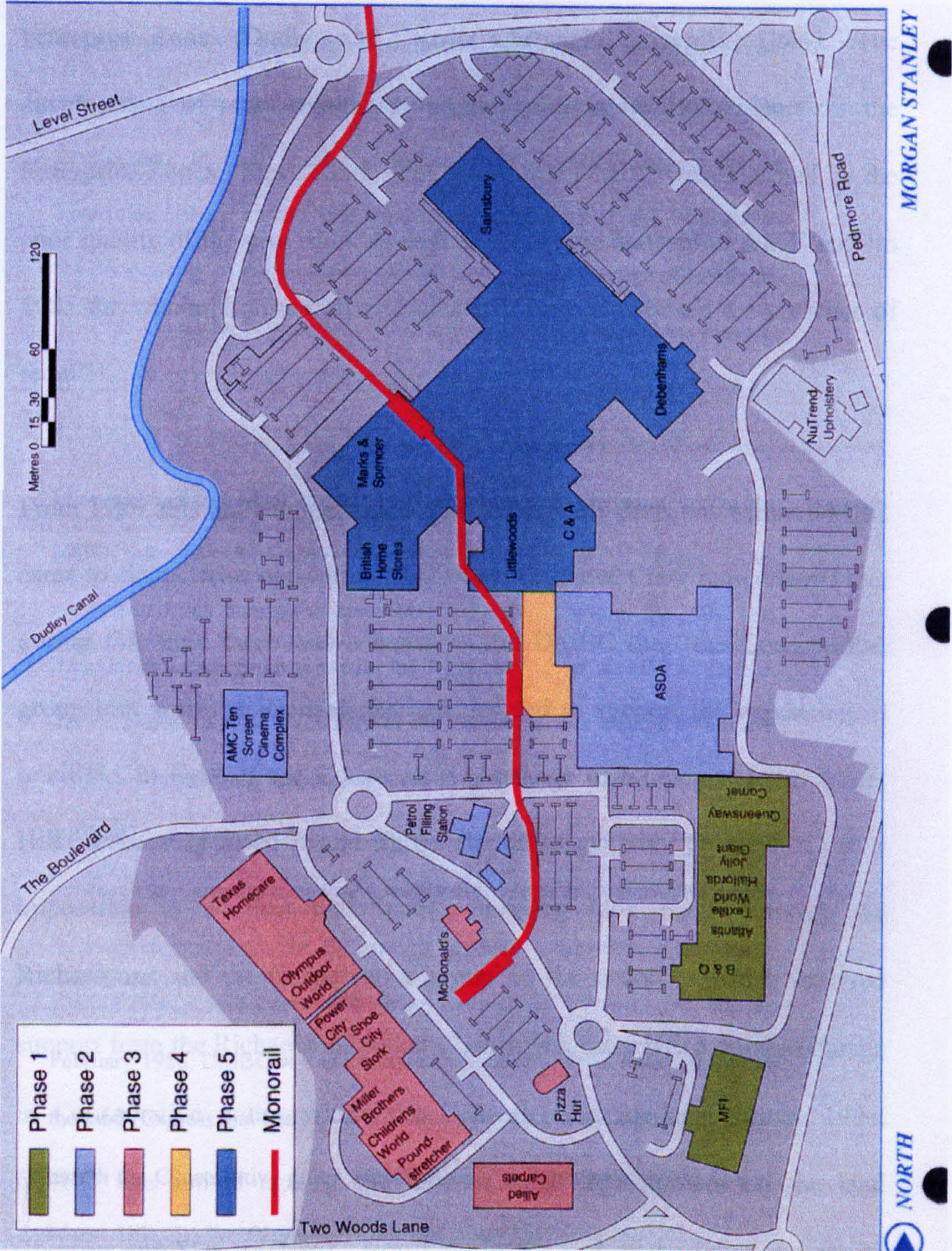
Having examined the period of consensus, the Enterprise Zones were indeed a means to an end, but not the end the Labour group wanted. Limited success of industry within the Enterprise Zones led to DMBC withdrawing support for the scheme. Subsequently, there were protestations made to the government regarding the use of land for retail purposes in contravention of its originally intended industrial use - *see figure 5.3*.

⁸ Quote taken from interview

⁹ Quote taken from interview

¹⁰ Quote taken from interview

Figure 5.3, The phased development of Merry Hill



This initially caused concern within the Council in late 1984 when the Council pressed the government for controls over retail development within Enterprise Zones (Dudley and District Chronicle, November 1984). The development of retail marked a turning point in DMBC support for the Enterprise Zones. Steve Clark pointed out that DMBC was 'alarmed by the poor quality of the provision, as well as the whole concept of retail' and 'in 1985 the whole [Conservative dominated] Council opposed the presence of retail'¹¹.

From 1986, this unified opposition changed as party divisions within DMBC came to characterise opposition to Merry Hill. Steve Clark remembered that during this time there was a belief within DMBC that 'the Conservative group met with the Richardsons and decided to support the expansion of retail'¹². In light of the Conservative's change of attitude towards Merry Hill, 'Labour opposed it and things started to get very political'¹³. It is impossible to confirm that such a meeting took place between the Richardsons and the Conservative group on the council - which received support from the Richardson brothers. However, there was a notable change in Conservative policy within the Council. As late as February 1986, DMBC was united against the idea of retail development on the land (Express and Star, 13/2/86). However, by the end of the following month the Conservative group supported the development of phase five of Merry Hill (Dudley News, 28/3/86) and party divisions over Merry Hill continued

¹¹ Quote taken from interview

to escalate during 1986 (Express and Star, 20/11/86; County Express, 13/11/86). Consequently, Steve Clark pointed out that division over the issue of Merry Hill was an important feature of the 1986 local elections, 'Labour wanted no retail and won the election, partly on opposition to Merry Hill'¹⁴.

This feeling was echoed by local traders who feared retailers setting up in the Enterprise Zones gained an unfair advantage over those in established centres such as Dudley (Dudley Herald, 3/1/85; interview with Mrs Evans). In the light of this, Mrs Evans helped set up the Dudley Town Forum as a means of uniting retailers in the town centre and improving quality in Dudley town centre. However, some interviewees from DMBC described their attempts as ineffective and poorly led. Amidst growing political conflict, the Richardson brothers developed the land with an even greater emphasis on retail, manipulating the rules on Enterprise Zones in order to create retail warehouses and, eventually, a retail centre.

One of the most notable themes about the Enterprise Zones was the objective of private enterprise and private finance shaping the urban landscape of the area, rather than an active input from the local authority. This provides evidence of the Richardson brothers' role as local entrepreneurs by demonstrating a distinct difference between them and the local authority. In keeping with enterprise culture rhetoric, there was a

¹² Quote taken from interview

belief that local authorities were not the right body to make economic decisions. Typifying this approach, Eddie Young believed that because they were involved in the economy rather than politics, the Richardson brothers ‘understood the nature of the economy and so could rejuvenate the area in a way the [Borough] Council could not’¹⁵.

So far, this section has argued that the Enterprise Zone led to the unforeseen expansion of retail rather than a renaissance of industry in the region - leading to political conflict. The section progresses by examining how the Enterprise Zones represent a method of political regulation. The separation of local government and local business was a political manoeuvre formulated by the Thatcher government and carried out through urban policy initiatives such as the Enterprise Zones. Terry Burchill, in his role as a senior member of the DMBC Planning Department, noted that, problematically, the ‘the Enterprise Zones were imposed on the region from outside, this was a political gesture and created an imbalance in the area’¹⁶. Although the notion of them being ‘imposed’ is debatable, the important fact is that they contained no input from local authorities and represented a national rather than local political agenda. As such, he continued, they were ‘political entities set up by the Conservative government to try and by-pass local authority control’¹⁷.

¹³ Quote taken from interview

¹⁴ Quote taken from interview

¹⁵ Quote taken from interview

¹⁶ Quote taken from interview

Tom Collins, a senior planning official with DMBC, followed on from Terry Burchill's comments by locating issues around Merry Hill within a national political context. Commenting on the Richardson brothers' support for the Conservative Party, he stated that the political ideology of the Richardson brothers suited this environment, describing them as 'Thatcher's children'¹⁸. Continuing this theme, he stated that through their activities, they 'totally accepted the laissez-faire attitude of 1980s business' and this was a 'political issue'¹⁹. Consequently, the construction of Merry Hill reflected dominant political values of the time, while the lack of local authority involvement meant the exclusion of local people's interests. Drawing on his extensive experience in planning, Tom Collins felt that had DMBC retained some control over planning there would have been 'a greater emphasis on mixed-use development'²⁰. Clearly, this is hard to prove or disprove, however, DMBC activity at the time suggests that Merry Hill would not have developed as it did had DMBC had any greater control.

It was during the discussion of the planning application for extending Merry Hill shortly before the 1986 local election that the political differences came to the fore on a local level. There was already conflict between local and national government, typified by Terry Burchill's belief that planning was too important to 'think you can draw a red line on a map and say this is

¹⁷ Quote taken from interview

¹⁸ Quote taken from interview

¹⁹ Quotes taken from interview

²⁰ Quote taken from interview

inside and this is outside'²¹. Commenting on political conflict within the Council, Edward Morrison noted that 'the Labour group fought to get planning rules changed because the Richardsons were using loopholes to set up retail on a site meant for industry and manufacturing'²². While remembering that DMBC still held out hopes in the mid-1980s for industry in the Zones, Edward Morrison argued that extra powers given to local authorities regarding Enterprise Zones land were not taken up by the ruling Conservative group 'for political reasons'²³.

Those interviewed from the local authority believed the Enterprise Zones allowed the private sector to take the lead in planning, with the specific combination of urban policy and economic restructuring underpinning such a trend. Problematically for DMBC, Tom Collins stated that there was 'an acceptance that the local authority does not have the resources it needs to shape town centres' and, consequently, 'planning has become enabling for the private sector' resulting in a 'definite move towards market values'²⁴.

In summary, the Enterprise Zones were a method of political regulation because they helped enable newly emerging patterns of capital accumulation. This was undoubtedly the case regarding DMBC's desire to regenerate industry being marginalised. Importantly, the Enterprise Zones illustrated the influence of outside forces within the redevelopment process -

²¹ Quote taken from interview

²² Quote taken from interview

²³ Quote taken from interview

²⁴ Quotes taken from interview

in this case central government. The Enterprise Zones consequently demonstrated a link between national political changes and local experiences of redevelopment and regeneration. Previously, changes in the local economy were related to global factors. Similarly, by recognising political influences, the redevelopment process is located within a national political framework that illustrates links between national and local realms.

5.3.2, New forms of capital accumulation

Having seen how urban policy influenced the development of Merry Hill, the next focus concerns political conflict and the process of redevelopment. This chapter argues that Merry Hill, through the expansion of the service sector, represented a response to a declining regional economy. The section begins by outlining the main features of the Merry Hill centre and how the Richardsons established the centre.

After the Richardsons bought land in the Enterprise Zones, phase one of the complex began in 1984, with seven retail warehouses. Following this was a second phase featuring a covered shopping area, large supermarket and a frontage comprising of smaller shops. Eventually, Merry Hill came to occupy 1.39 million square feet of floorspace. To this was added a cinema, hotels, clubs, nightlife and offices at The Waterfront, as well as 10,000 free car parking spaces. Proposals to extend the centre by an additional 450,000

square feet to allow for a new food court, a crèche and extra retail space (Merry Hill, 1996) were rejected by the Department of Environment. However, Oliver Gould, senior manager of Merry Hill's current owners, Chelsfield, stated that this was only a temporary setback and Merry Hill would continue to expand (Hetherington, 1996). Merry Hill's popularity with shoppers is undeniable, attracting between 23.5 million visitors (Merry Hill, 1996) and 16 million visitors (DMBC: 1996a) in 1995. Support for the centre comes largely from local people, whom make up 87% of visitors (cited in Chelsfield, undated).

After the second phase, Tom Collins identified a view within DMBC that Merry Hill had begun to provide competition to traditional centres in the region. Until this point, the retail warehouses in phase one, known locally as 'Shed City', did not provide local shoppers with a competing destination but copied existing warehouse facilities based on purchase of long-term products, such as carpets, and bulk buying. However, the construction of a covered area of smaller shops and a supermarket in 1984 was the first sign of a direct replication of traditional town centre facilities. A report by David Lock Associates (1996) supported Steve Clark's evidence that it was at this point that concern amongst local traders and the Borough Council began to increase (David Lock Associates, 1996).

A third phase, featuring more retail warehousing, completed in 1986, was soon followed by phase four, a small area of fourteen covered retail units

and a food court designed to link between phases two and five. Phase four, not to have been contentious in its own right, partly due to its size, was designed as a link between phases two and five because by that time phase five had been granted planning permission.

The centre continued to expand without the controls normally in place through planning permission guidelines. Increasingly alarmed at this situation, Edward Morrison remembered in 1985 that DMBC requested the government to amend the Enterprise Zone rules in order to restore planning controls (this is a theme examined further in section 5.4.2). The government granted the Council these powers in 1986 (David Lock Associates, 1996), the same year that the Richardsons submitted a planning application for further expansion of Merry Hill (subsequently to become phase five) that would include 1.2 million square feet of leisure and retail facilities.

Adjacent to the Merry Hill centre, and forming part of the overall complex of Enterprise Zone development by the Richardsons, is The Waterfront. Constructed in the mid-1990s, The Waterfront is a collection of offices, bars and restaurants, and hotels. Built around the existing canal, now called the Marina, it reflects many of the aims and achievements of Brindleyplace and complements Merry Hill's retail facilities.

In an acrimonious debate on the eve of the 1986 local council elections, the Council vote was tied and the deciding vote fell to John Mulvehill, the Chief Executive of DMBC, who voted in favour of the plans. Permission was

granted for phase five on the Friday immediately following the Thursday local elections that replaced the existing Conservative council with a Labour council. Under the rules of local elections, the victorious Labour group did not assume power until the following Monday when one of their first tasks was to sack John Mulvehill. John Mulvehill's actions received much media attention (Dudley News, 23/4/86; County Express, 15/5/86; Express and Star, 16/5/86). The reasoning behind his decision has been impossible to ascertain, though interviews and 'off the record' comments inferred it was not just party political. Steve Clark pointed out that from that point, 'the Labour group had no control' over Merry Hill's development and to compound problems, 'the previous alliance between the Conservatives and the Richardsons led to frosty relations [between the Labour group and the Richardsons]'²⁵.

The development of Merry Hill illustrated newly emerging forms of capital accumulation. While the shops at Dudley town centre were a component of the industrial economy, the town centre was inadequate to support the service sector as a primary focus of local capital accumulation. The development of retail on this scale had implications in terms of inter-urban competition and during the 1980s, many of the larger shops in Dudley pulled out of the town centre. Between 1987 and 1992, when Merry Hill began to compete with Dudley town centre, vacant retail outlets in Dudley town centre increased from 21,400 square feet to 162,800 (Department of Environment, 1993a: 75). During this period, there was also a 24% decrease

²⁵ Quotes taken from interview

in the rental cost of properties in the town centre (ibid.). Evidence from Tom Collins supported this general trend, commenting that whilst shops ‘such as Debenhams, Cookes and others showed the disinvestment that there had been in the centre and the poor levels of infrastructure... Marks and Spencers [in Dudley town centre] had gone from three floors to one floor only selling convenience goods such as food’²⁶.

Tom Collins’s evidence raised the issue of inter-urban competition for resources. Firstly, there was a relocation of office work to The Waterfront (DMBC, 1997). Secondly, a general trend of concentrating existing resources within the Merry Hill complex adversely affected other shopping centres in the Borough (Department of Environment, 1993a; The Observer, 12/11/95; The Guardian, 24/12/94). In the three years following the completion of phase five in 1989, retail employment in many local towns²⁷ fell by 17%. During the same time, rent for retail space also fell in many of these areas and visitors declined. A survey of letting agents revealed that while the impact was localised, Dudley and Stourbridge experienced the biggest impact (Department of Environment, 1993a).

Having identified Merry Hill being in competition with traditional town centres, Tom Collins raised the issue of inter-urban competition, remembering that in 1988 a consortium led by property development section of P & O ‘considered redeveloping central Dudley, especially the market

²⁶ Quote taken from interview

area and the Churchill shopping centre, aiming for 150,000 square feet'²⁸. John Lambert, a senior manager with P & O who was involved in the proposal, supported this claim, pointing out that they made 'an offer to the council for the Churchill Precinct and market area of Dudley town centre. However, no plans were actually submitted and the development of Merry Hill prevented the matter going further'²⁹. By 1989, Tom Collins stated that 'all of the big stores had gone with the exception of Beatties' and that 'the centre of Dudley was cramped, run down and could not compete with Merry Hill'³⁰. Ultimately, he continued, Dudley became 'dominated by cheap shops and a lower quality retail sector' that has served to 'put other shops off coming to Dudley'³¹.

In summary, the construction of Merry Hill enabled new forms of capital accumulation to emerge, based on an expansion of the service sector. In this respect, the local dominance of industry receded and previous service sector provision was inadequate.

²⁷Birmingham, Wolverhampton, West Bromwich, Walsall, Brierley Hill, Dudley, Halesowen, Kidderminster, Kingswinford and Stourbridge.

²⁸ Quote taken from interview

²⁹ Quote taken from correspondence

³⁰ Quote taken from interview

³¹ Quotes taken from interview

5.4, Locally specific outcomes of the redevelopment process

Having examined ‘extra-local’ factors that have shaped the redevelopment process, the case study proceeds by looking at locally specific experiences and outcomes of the redevelopments.

5.4.1, Regeneration and the regulation of economic objectives

The extent to which the activities of the Richardson brothers were part of an enterprise culture is an important question when examining a political dimension to their activities. It is therefore possible to construct a definition of the enterprise culture that includes a diminishment of local authority influence. The Richardson brothers developed Merry Hill with the assistance of various financial schemes from the public sector (Express and Star, June 1983; County Express, 1/4/83) that were designed within a political agenda to encourage local enterprise.

The presence of the Richardson brothers was an example of just such a trend. Born and bred in the Black Country, they espoused a pride in the area and a defence of the area resulting from a poor image associated with the Black Country.

Extensive coverage of the Richardsons in the local press showed them not only within a business environment, but also detailed their social life and charity work. There was a discernible theme of the entrepreneur not being an anonymous businessperson but a personality in his or her own right. Evidence of this was seen in the Richardson brothers receiving extensive coverage of their social life and charity events in local newspapers during the time Merry Hill was becoming increasingly popular in the 1980s and early 1990s. Against this personalisation, there has been little analysis of the move from production to consumption or the benefits to local people. There was instead a common sense view of the Richardsons regenerating the area.

The Richardsons' entrepreneurial position was defined by the large investment of capital and their associated 'local hero' status (Lowe, 1993). Despite the scope for debate on this issue, it is important to note that Round Oak and Merry Hill were both 'personalised' through being related to particular people. This was different to the redevelopment of Broad Street in Birmingham where there was little public knowledge of the people who owned or managed the companies. The Richardson name was synonymous in the region with Merry Hill and, likewise, Merry Hill was synonymous with the Richardsons despite selling the retail part of the development to Chelsfield plc.

The ‘personalisation’ of the development featured certain traits and characteristics being connected to the development, described by Lowe (1993), and based on the marketing of a local image. Lowe (1993), in her study of Merry Hill, described this as the ‘economic localism’ of regions being able to determine their own economic strategy. From this position, Lowe argues that Merry Hill was a ‘curious intermingling of regional culture, regional identity and regional regeneration which is occurring during an era largely dominated by increased globalisation’ (1993: 221).

These traits and characteristics are the personal element of the development and represent a vision of Merry Hill constructed by the Richardson brothers through marketing. Eddie Young pointed out that ‘The Richardsons have a strong sense of belonging to the Black Country and a desire to improve the area’³². However, eighteen months later he modified this attitude as the Richardsons property portfolio increased rapidly and moved beyond the initial local base. He stated that the ‘Richardsons have no interest in this area, they develop on a nation-wide basis now’³³. Despite this, most local people strongly linked the Richardsons with Merry Hill, the link typified by Harry Johnstone’s comments that he saw ‘some [billboard] posters that show them in hard hats with the slogan “2,000 jobs” written underneath’³⁴. He felt this was a victory of image over substance.

³² Quote taken from interview

³³ Quote taken from interview

³⁴ Quote taken from interview

The construction of a public image for the development was highly selective and based on social values around a notion of belonging. Therefore, a strong local affinity and pride in the Black Country's regeneration are all themes that the Richardson brothers have tried to incorporate in constructing Merry Hill. Roy Richardson summarised their local attachment thus:

'I was born on the edge of that site [Merry Hill] in 1930 - I am 64 years of age. I have my twin brother sitting by my side, and our experience has always been gained within the Black Country locality, mainly in Dudley and the surrounding area. Although we still do not classify ourselves as experts, we think we have a good grasp of what local people want... When you walked around Brierley Hill and see people out of a job, it was not often you saw people smiling. It was not particularly pleasant seeing your area, where you had been born, having people with that type of attitude.' (House of Commons, 1994: 102)

Edward Connolly, a journalist who has written extensively on the issue of urban redevelopment, as well as interviewing the Richardson brothers, supported the view of the Richardsons cultivating a local image and remembers Roy Richardson telling how the idea for Merry Hill began. 'Roy said that in Dudley at 4:50pm he was disappointed by the quality of the town centre and the opening hours. There was an opportunity to give shoppers a better value, and had the imagination to consider putting a glossy centre on land considered only good for industry'³⁵. Edward Connolly's evidence further demonstrated that the Richardson brothers had little or no intention of developing industry in the Enterprise Zones.

The 'personalisation' of Merry Hill resulted from an image of the Richardsons as being both local and entrepreneurial and therefore focusing a link between the economy and the local community. This entrepreneurial activity led to the region being at the forefront of social and economic restructuring. Investment made by these 'local heroes' linked the nature of the workforce and prevailing economic trends.

The financial enticements used in the construction of Merry Hill were important as a demonstration of how a political concept such as the enterprise culture was encouraged. The Richardsons' project was the first nationally to receive financial support in the form of the newly set up Urban Regeneration Grant (URG) initiative. Under the guidance of the Department of Environment a sum of £3.25 million was granted towards the costs, then estimated to be £17.5 million, of building Merry Hill (Planning, 741, 23/10/87). The grant was set up for inner city redevelopment where there was a cost incurred to the redevelopers in dealing with environmental factors, such as the remnants of previous use. Additionally, there was a City Grant of £1.579m and a Derelict Land Grant of £1.219m allotted to the Enterprise Zones (DMBC, 1997: 2). Traditionally, the developer would have incurred this cost, however, this represented a re-direction of public funds into the private sector in order to offer enticements to carry out projects within a free market. Other smaller grants were handed out at

³⁵ Quote taken from interview

various times ranging from £700,000 to £1.3m (Dudley Trader, 10/1/85; Express and Star, 3/6/82).

Having examined the entrepreneurial nature of Merry Hill, the next question concerns how this relates to the labour market. Looking expressly at the issue of regeneration, Brierley Hill, more than many other areas in the Borough needed regenerating. Surrounding Merry Hill, and in the heart of Dudley Borough, the 1991 census shows Brierley Hill to be a predominately working class area, 48.5% of households do not own a car, 44% of housing is flats and terrace and only 5.8% of properties are detached (Census, 1991). The town featured a decaying and dated town centre. Many of the local residents had previous connections with Round Oak and, consequently, the area featured some of the highest unemployment in the Borough. Placing this into a national context in the same way as the previous chapter, out of 8414 English wards, Brierley Hill has a multiple deprivation rank of 1088³⁶, and income ranking of 317 and a rank of 1314 for child poverty. Whilst this makes the area less deprived than Ladywood, it still places it within the lowest quintile of English wards. Similar figures for Castle and Priory³⁷ show a multiple deprivation ranking of 627 out of 8414, income is ranked at 565 and child poverty is 906 (www.statistics.gov.uk/neighbourhood/home.asp).

³⁶ 1=most deprived

³⁷ Castle and Priory is in central Dudley and is the ward covering Priory Tenants Association and Wrens Nest – See list of interviewees and the start of this chapter

Chapter Two argued that an essential aspect of social regulation is regulation of the labour market. Importantly, emerging forms of capital accumulation in the region featured new patterns of labour market regulation. However, there are challenges to the assumption that local economic regeneration of the Black Country followed in the wake of the local entrepreneur (Lowe, 1993). Whilst Round Oak employed up to 3,500 workers, mainly in full time employment, employment at Merry Hill was put at 1,348 (Department of Environment, 1993a). Despite initially appearing substantial, in terms of quantity, Merry Hill does not compare with Round Oak, as 69% of 1,348 jobs were on either casual or part-time bases (Department of Environment, 1993a). The neighbouring Waterfront development employed around 2,000 people (DMBC, 1997) and it was only there that there was a strong base of full-time employees. However, the success of the Waterfront did not serve to regenerate the Borough as many of the jobs were not new jobs, but jobs displaced from other areas within the region through relocation. Furthermore, research shows employers at Merry Hill/Waterfront were more prepared than other local employers to take on staff on a flexible or part time basis (WMEB Consultants, 1996), thereby undermining any notion of security. Overall, the percentage of Borough employees working within the service sector rose between 1981 and 1996 from 48.93% to 66.66% (Annual census of employment cited at www.dudly.gov.uk/about/loceconomy/empchange81_96.htm).

The Richardson brothers have contested the claim that Merry Hill has not delivered economic regeneration. They told the House of Commons Environment Committee regarding the number of jobs created by the development:

‘At this moment, with retail, I would expect it [jobs created] is in excess of 5,000, probably 6,000, probably 7,000-ish. When the development is totally complete there will probably be about 8,000, 9,000 or 10,000-ish. That is an estimate, but that is what I believe with the information as we know it at the moment. As far as I know, there has been no actual investigation done on the number of jobs’ (1994: 101)

Despite the Richardsons brothers’ eagerness to emphasise the employment potential of Merry Hill, they would have been aware that the Merry Hill Impact Study (Department of Environment, 1993a) published the previous year states that Merry Hill created 1,348 jobs. It seems unlikely that the Richardsons were unaware of this study, leaving open the argument that job creation was a way of justifying a new local pattern of capital accumulation. Additionally, the Richardson brothers were eager to emphasise the benefit to the locality and their local roots, with Don Richardson claiming:

‘We have a responsibility to create jobs in the area... We were born in Brierley Hill and know a bit about the place. Somebody has to take action, and all we are doing is creating jobs, we don’t want the place looking like Ethiopia.’ (Express and Star, 6/4/83)

There was an acknowledgement from DMBC of Merry Hill’s poor quality employment. Terry Burchill pointed out that ‘Dudley is a low pay economy

and it would be unfair to compare the impact Merry Hill has had on the area to redevelopments at places such as Solihull'³⁸. Despite this, DMBC was positive regarding Merry Hill's regenerative impact, and referring to the Waterfront Impact Study (DMBC, 1997), Edward Morrison claimed that the redevelopment underpins local regeneration. However, he did concede that the type of work created hampered potential regeneration, he stated that 'many of the jobs are part time' and that this kind of work 'does undermine pensions and wage levels'³⁹. Reference to the Merry Hill Impact Study (Department of Environment, 1993a) supported his analysis of job creation, whilst the Waterfront Impact Study shows increased employment was based on relocated labour. As such, the expansion of the Waterfront was at the expense of other areas in the Borough.

Challenging the link between service sector redevelopment and the potential for redevelopment, Eddie Young's claims that 'Merry Hill has provided economic rejuvenation for the area'⁴⁰ appear too optimistic. Not only did they exaggerate the impact of Merry Hill but they also featured a polemical vision of the centre. From the evidence, the enterprise culture has failed to initiate economic rejuvenation in areas such as Dudley Borough. Despite the presence of some investigations (Dudley, 1997; Department of Environment, 1993a) there was no appraisal of alternative methods of regeneration.

³⁸ Quote taken from interview

5.4.2, Merry Hill's integration with its surroundings: Is the centre 'out of town'?

Merry Hill did not integrate with its surroundings due, ostensibly, to the influence of the Enterprise Zones. Whilst challenging the common view that Merry Hill is an out of town shopping centre, this factor did prevent it from becoming a new town centre in its own right. This section therefore argues that Merry Hill is neither out-of-town nor a new town centre; though it has the potential to be the latter.

Typically, comparisons between Merry Hill and places such as Meadowhall, Lakeside and Thurrock identified Merry Hill as an out-of-town shopping centre, with its newness and basis in the service sector supporting such an assumption. However, this is misleading. Problems arise when examining the redevelopment in the context of its surroundings - a fundamental factor in calling it 'out-of-town'. Firstly, Merry Hill is far from being out-of-town, although it is out of Dudley, its location is almost exactly in the centre of the Borough and served by an urban road network rather than motorways. Secondly, it is not just a shopping centre. There exists a range of offices and leisure facilities, used regularly by local people.

³⁹ Quotes taken from interview

⁴⁰ Quote taken from interview

Infrastructure surrounding Merry Hill was not designed for a large service sector development based on large numbers of visitors. With 84% of users travelling by cars, and between 2.4 and 3 million people living within a 45 minute driving distance (Department of Environment, 1993a), there has been heavy congestion on local roads. Those interviewed provided evidence of this poor integration with surroundings. Edward Morrison pointed out that other comparable shopping centres 'were all built near to main approach roads, either A-roads or motorways, they already had a transport infrastructure in place'⁴¹. He continued by stating that the 'Enterprise Zones were only suited to a continuation of what the infrastructure has supported before'⁴², such as industry and manufacturing that did not generate such a volume of traffic.

Commenting on the problems of formulating urban policy outside the region, Edward Morrison felt that 'one of the failings of the Enterprise Zone was that it allowed retail to develop, almost by accident'⁴³. He continued that 'it was not envisaged that a carpet warehouse in the middle of a field would turn into something so successful'⁴⁴. Problems associated with the Enterprise Zones were a common cause for complaint amongst those in the Council. Supporting previous comments, the Enterprise Zones undermined local planning controls. While national politics aimed to reduce 'red tape' and local authority belligerence, the Zones actually proved the importance of

⁴¹ Quote taken from interview

⁴² Quote taken from interview

⁴³ Quote taken from interview

⁴⁴ Quote taken from interview

local planning. Overall, Edward Morrison believed ‘the Enterprise Zones were poorly planned and the Richardsons were allowed to get away with the bare minimum... The integration of Merry Hill with the locality was poor’. He added that ‘the Council are now trying to negotiate with Chelsfield (Merry Hill’s current owners) to rearrange the bus network, there will also be a reassessment of the road network in planning the forthcoming UDP⁴⁵’⁴⁶. Whilst the Enterprise Zones were planned in abstraction from localities, Nick Miller noted that ‘now the Borough is dealing with unforeseen problems of roads congestion’⁴⁷. Harry Johnstone from Dudley Friends of the Earth also highlighted the problem of too little ‘planning permission or consultation’, believing that ‘the road network was never integrated... It has created problems for those living near main roads’⁴⁸.

Despite such objections to the Enterprise Zones, Richardson Developments believed the problems were political rather than planning-based. Eddie Young claimed that Merry Hill ‘has lacked a rail link and proper road links’ not because of any problems with the Enterprise Zones, but because ‘Dudley Council resented their [the Richardsons] presence’⁴⁹.

Overall, however, the problem of road access to the centre has been an important feature of conflict between local people and the centre. Merry Hill increasingly has relied on private transport, with the centre advertising

⁴⁵See for example MVA Consultancy (1996)

⁴⁶ Quote taken from interview

⁴⁷ Quote taken from interview

⁴⁸ Quotes taken from interview

10,000 free car-parking spaces, leading to a belief by Harry Johnstone that 'it has been built for car users'⁵⁰.

There was a clear identification by Merry Hill's owners that the way to entice visitors is to provide facilities based on car travel. At a public meeting at Cradley Community Centre (9/9/98), Ian Jefferson from the Borough Council responded to criticisms regarding the high level of car use at Merry Hill by stating that the Council had an aim of reducing car use in the Borough. A major part of this involved investment in the Midland Metro, a light rail network linking Birmingham and the Black Country, with a proposed branch line to Merry Hill. He pointed out that DMBC had asked Chelsfield to charge for car parking in order to encourage public transport, but that they had consistently refused.

Returning the question of whether Merry Hill is out-of-town or the genesis of a new town centre, there is a potential conflict. Whilst physically at the heart of the Borough, its lack of integration meant it remained separate from its environment. In essence, whilst having the potential to be a town centre, it represented an out-of-town centre in an in-town location. Typifying this position, Terry Simpson, Chair of the Brierley Hill Traders' Association, commented that 'it is only 500 yards away, yet it could miles away'⁵¹.

⁴⁹ Quotes taken from interview

⁵⁰ Quote taken from interview

⁵¹ Quote taken from interview

In summary, the debate concerning whether Merry Hill is out of town or otherwise is important because it illustrates how well the redevelopment integrates with the region's economy and social relations. Initially, it is evident that Merry Hill was poorly integrated with its surroundings. This partly resulted from nationally formulated urban policy dividing local actors. However, it also reflected the centrality of Merry Hill within the economy of the region. As Merry Hill became more important economically through increased service sector expansion, it also became more integrated within the region. The case study proceeds by arguing that, despite some problems, Merry Hill has become more integrated with the region as it has become the mainstay of the regional economy.

5.4.3, New patterns of local accumulation and attempts to construct a new 'town centre'

The previous section argued that far from being out of town, Merry Hill has formed an integral part of the economy of the Borough and only labelled out of town because of its poor integration with its surroundings. This problem of integration came to fore most noticeably in 1995 when Chelsfield wanted a 50% expansion of Merry Hill. The plans were rejected after a public inquiry because the centre could not be classed as a town centre according to DMBC's UDP. By this time, DMBC were already beginning to realise that there would be no industrial renaissance and that service sector expansion

was becoming the mainstay of the local economy. Consequently, they recognised a mutual interest between themselves and Chelsfield for Merry Hill to expand and integrate. This signalled the beginning of regime formation between local political and economic actors.

After the refusal of planning permission, the only means for Merry Hill to expand was to become a town centre in its own right so that it would comply with central government planning guidelines. One means by which this could happen was to integrate with Brierley Hill town centre and become a feature of the existing town centre. The chapter proceeds by looking at how the problem of town centre definition was approached and, subsequently, how integration has occurred.

As a starting point in assessing Merry Hill's potential to become a town centre, it is located in the centre of Dudley Borough, a heavily urban region (DMBC, 1993). Surrounded by housing and employment in the heart of an urban conurbation, a definition of it being out of town was clearly problematic. Although not constituting a town centre for official purposes, the Managing Director of Chelsfield noted 'I am quite sure we will succeed [in becoming a town centre]. It's just a question of time' (Hetherington, 1996).

Hetherington though harboured doubts regarding its success as a town centre. He developed the views of Tony Burton from the Council for the

Protection of Rural England that places such as Merry Hill are not town centres because ‘they don’t provide a full range of services. They’ve no culture, no history and they’re hugely reliant on the motor car’ (ibid.).

Additionally, some in DMBC, such as Edward Morrison, believed ‘Merry Hill cannot take the place of a town centre, town centres can only develop through an evolutionary process’⁵². However, others in DMBC, such as Nick Miller, recognised Merry Hill’s potential to be a town centre by arguing ‘Merry Hill has become a town centre without many of the town centre problems’⁵³. Uniting these conflicting opinions, Terry Burchill claimed that ‘Merry Hill exhibits all the characteristics of a town centre, though needs more integration with existing infrastructure’, adding that ‘if Milton Keynes and Telford are town centres, there is no reason why Merry Hill is not’⁵⁴.

A similar approach from the current owners of Merry Hill, Chelsfield, demonstrated a growing common ground between the private sector and DMBC. Oliver Gould, Chelsfield’s Managing Director, believed ‘Merry Hill and the Waterfront...are quite different from those of other historically categorised out of town centres’⁵⁵. Referring the Merry Hill Impact Study (Department of Environment, 1993a), he continued that ‘local retail

⁵² Quote taken from interview

⁵³ Quote taken from interview

⁵⁴ Quotes taken from interview

⁵⁵ Quote taken from correspondence

customer penetration is much higher and Merry Hill has become a frequent leisure destination for a large proportion of its immediate catchment'⁵⁶.

During a public inquiry into the expansion of Merry Hill in 1996, there was a conscious move by Chelsfield to establish a working definition for a 'town centre' and apply this to Merry Hill. Existing definitions by the Department of the Environment include the integration of economic and community activity. Consequently, a town centre 'provide[s] a broad range of facilities and services and which fulfils a function as a focus for both community and public transport' (Department of Environment, 1993b: 20).

Arguably, therefore, it was Merry Hill's lack of integration with the community and social networks that prevented it being classed as a 'town centre'; resulting in the centre being refused permission to expand. Reporting to the House of Commons Environment Committee, Councillor Stacey emphasised this social element of a town centre. Accepting Merry Hill was the economic focus of the region, he believed a town centre 'is a focus for community and civic pride, a wide range of social, cultural and economic activities which can never just be magicked around a shopping centre' (House of Commons, 1994: 120).

It appears however, that having identified a duality of social and economic factors to a town centre, the private sector were most interested in the economic aspect. Reporting to the 1996 inquiry, the property consultants

⁵⁶ Quote taken from correspondence

Healey Baker (1996) dismissed the social element, arguing that popularity among shoppers is enough to make Merry Hill a town centre. However, despite increased shopper-mobility and decreased loyalty to a particular centre, the varied role of traditional town centres is absent as community groups, churches and the local authority remain situated in traditional centres such as Dudley.

Despite emphasising the economic function of town centres, Healey Baker recognised 'that town centres offer a complex range of functions and are not simply shopping destinations. Additional attractions [include those] such as leisure facilities, employment opportunities, financial and other professional services' (1996: sec. 2.7.16). Relating this to Merry Hill, its continued lack of integration was more than physical, it was also distinct from existing social networks. Identifying 'community uses and civic functions' (ibid.) as a feature of town centres means Merry Hill will only become a town centre when it incorporates input from organisations such as the local authority and community groups. Recognising this as an ongoing process, DMBC reported that 'many of the facilities and services located in the traditional town centre high street are now present at Merry Hill' (DMBC, 1996a: sec. 3.2.12).

It is not surprising given the debate that property consultants Montagu Evans highlighted the inflexible and even subjective nature of defining town centre. They acknowledged that 'Merry Hill and the Waterfront complex do

not fit into any of the definitions in Annex A of PPG6 (revised) [Department of Environment, 1993b] because it is a major new urban centre'. However this was qualified by stating that it does provide 'the majority of facilities and services associated with a traditional town centre and having regard to its present role, size and location, and Dudley Council's objectives for its future... it should be treated as a town centre' (Montagu Evans, 1996: 4).

Around this time, and reflecting DMBC's interest in Merry Hill's expansion, David Lock Associates were commissioned to carry out an urban design study for both DMBC and Chelsfield. They found that 'Merry Hill is not remote from its catchment, or served by motorway connections, but is a neighbour to commercial, residential and employment areas, the old town centre of Brierley Hill, schools, playing fields, pubs, scrap yards and other activities interlaced by a complex, urban highway network'. Contradicting definitions of the centre being out of town, they further stated that in the original Enterprise Zone designation 'the Dudley Enterprise Zone was classified as "urban" and defined as being an "inner city" location' (1996: 4).

It has been noted, therefore, that definitions of a town centre based on what was provided in traditional town centres such as Dudley are problematic because they do not allow for changes in the social and economic forces of production. However, they do allow town centres to be defined in relation to communities by reasserting earlier claims that an important role for the

town centre is as a focus for social networks that are an expression of community.

There have been attempts recently to develop the complex beyond just an economic focus. Over the last decade, there has been the construction of not just shops but also facilities characteristic of a town centre such as bars, restaurants, offices and hotels. To describe the resulting complex as only a shopping centre would be not only to do it a grave disservice but also to mislead about its true nature. The Merry Hill complex is therefore neither out-of-town nor just a shopping centre, it has increasingly attempted to become a town centre in its own right with the facilities and popularity⁵⁷ to be understood as such.

However, this contrasts with traditional town centres whereby places such as Dudley are a public realm twenty-four hours a day. The essential difference with Merry Hill was the total privatisation of the centre and the private ownership of all the space and peripheral area. The traditional town centre was a public area, including a right of access and passage and equality of opportunity to enter such a realm, albeit that one's economic position determined full participation. However, this is not the case in the Merry Hill complex, where there is no acceptance of it being a truly public space. There is a reinforcement of the entrepreneurial nature of development through the omission of symbols of traditional public town centres such

⁵⁷House of Commons (1994) estimates visitor numbers at 25 million per year.

municipal buildings, community facilities and aid bodies such as churches and advice bureaux.

5.4.4, The future of Merry Hill and integration with Brierley Hill

Based on Chapter Three's research objectives, it is argued that redevelopment strategies were an attempt to regain local stability. Referring back to Chapter One, stability was defined as a complementary configuration of accumulation and regulation. Arguably, a significant theme of Merry Hill's development during the Enterprise Zone years was the conflict between local political and economic actors. As such, while there was a newly emerging local regime of accumulation, local social regulation was limited. Consequently, it was only after the Enterprise Zones ended and the Richardson brothers sold their interest in Merry Hill to Chelsfield that local co-operation between economic and political actors developed. It is therefore argued that in relation to this research objective, that although Merry Hill started the process of developing a new local regime of accumulation, it was only once it became integrated with the region that it represented an attempt to regain local stability.

So far, this chapter has portrayed Merry Hill as an attempt to construct a new town centre within Dudley Borough. However, the exclusion of community influences and poor integration with existing facilities has limited its success.

This section examines the development of Merry Hill in the wake of the Richardsons' sale of the centre to Chelsfield. After the failure of Merry Hill to expand, DMBC and Chelsfield began to identify mutual benefits to redevelopment.

Overall, DMBC was unsure about its relationship with Merry Hill and changed its perspective over time, lacking clear policy on the development. Councillor Sparks (subsequently interviewed) summed up the original mood of DMBC in the mid-1980s when he said that 'pushing supermarket trolleys around is no substitute for making steel' (Lowe, 1993: 226). Recently though, DMBC has changed its official response to Merry Hill. By 1993, it came to accept the centre as an integral part of the local economy and social fabric (DMBC, 1993). This reflected a broader view of the Borough rather than a narrow focus on the fortunes of Dudley alone. Labour councillor Fred Hunt characterised this apparent change in policy when he said 'Oh yes, I'm a convert. Originally we thought that the Enterprise Zone would be all industry...but when you look at Merry Hill and the Waterfront now, well its the way forward...you realise that Merry Hill is not out-of-town, it's right in the middle of the borough' (Express and Star, 3/6/96).

At a public consultation meeting in Coseley library (7/9/98) concerning proposals for the new unitary development plan (UDP), Ian Jefferson from DMBC commented that DMBC had 'hardly mentioned Merry Hill in the

current UDP'⁵⁸. He felt that the new UDP had to acknowledge its presence further and make the best of what was there. This acceptance of Merry Hill as a central part of the Borough marked a U-turn in policy and a new attitude towards potential public-private partnerships. Overall, Tom Collins typified how DMBC 'changed their outlook to accept the inevitable', conceding that 'Merry Hill is now a Borough centre and should be supported as such'⁵⁹. Having identified Merry Hill as being at the heart of the Borough, Edward Morrison proceeded by noting how there was a change in DMBC from 'seeing itself as a Council for Dudley to seeing itself as a Council for the Metropolitan Borough'⁶⁰. This was part of a more general change of seeing Merry Hill as beneficial to the region rather than detrimental.

Therefore, with the refusal of planning permission in 1996, Chelsfield and DMBC began to accept the presence of mutual interest in the economic development of the complex⁶¹. Edward Morrison pointed out that the reason for the rejection of planning permission was not due to local opposition, but to central government's aim of limiting out of town shopping centres. Because Merry Hill could not be described as a town centre in either the UDP's definition or the government's definition it could only be regarded as out of town. Consequently, Edward Morrison believed the rejection of

⁵⁸ Altogether, there were eight public consultation meetings throughout the Borough during September 1998; all of which I attended. The quote is from one of the public meetings.

⁵⁹ Quotes taken from interview

⁶⁰ Quote taken from interview

⁶¹ Press releases from DMBC: *Town Centres' Confidence Boost*, undated; *Breaking Down Barriers: Towards a New Brierley Hill*, 3/6/98; *Brand New School as Part of Brierley Hill Regeneration*, 3/7/98.

planning permission indicated that ‘the Council’s Unitary Development Plan does not allow for this large scale change’⁶².

From this position, DMBC and Chelsfield re-defined the relationship between Merry Hill and the surrounding area as the basis for the creation of a partnership. Keith Chalmers, the Centre Manager at Merry Hill, viewed current relations as ‘excellent’, pointing out that Chelsfield were taking ‘a long-term view of Merry Hill in a way that the Richardsons would not because they were only developers rather than managers’⁶³. The difference between the Richardsons and Chelsfield was also detected within DMBC. The move away from local entrepreneurs allowed a partnership to be constructed. Edward Morrison pointed out that ‘Chelsfield were not politically opposed to Labour and were prepared to work with the Council. They were more accommodating’⁶⁴. Whilst the local authority was portrayed as bad for the enterprise culture, Keith Chalmers admitted that ‘there has been an under-investment in Merry Hill’ and that ‘Chelsfield are putting money towards improvements’⁶⁵.

This was supported from within DMBC, with Steve Clark commenting this was the first developer he has worked with who ‘was sensitive to the demands of the community’⁶⁶. Based on what he termed a ‘clear recognition of mutual interest’, he stated it was ‘Chelsfield who approached the Council

⁶² Quote taken from interview

⁶³ Quote taken from interview

⁶⁴ Quote taken from interview

⁶⁵ Quotes taken from interview

with a plan to overcome problems [of poor integration and inability to expand]’⁶⁷. Recognising that DMBC did not have the financial ability to develop the region, but that their support was needed for Merry Hill to expand, Steve Clark remembered that ‘they [Chelsfield] agreed to pay for the UDP to be implemented and for road improvements, amounting to £11-14m. This was good deal for the Council who had little money to implement the UDP and freed up spending for elsewhere’⁶⁸.

With hindsight, Steve Clark felt that ‘the refusal of planning permission was the best thing that ever happened’⁶⁹. Chelsfield came up with a plan to integrate Merry Hill and The Waterfront with the neighbouring Brierley Hill town centre. Steve Clark added that although DMBC were ‘tentative’, Chelsfield were ‘willing to be flexible’ and ‘local traders were supportive of the idea’⁷⁰. This opened new potentials in the region that were not previously available. He added that ‘the input of extra money would allow the Leisure Centre in Brierley Hill to be replaced and the chance to build a new library. The Council could not afford to do this otherwise. There would also be a potential to develop housing and the training academy will provide local jobs to local people’⁷¹.

⁶⁶ Quote taken from interview

⁶⁷ Quotes taken from interview

⁶⁸ Quote taken from interview

⁶⁹ Quote taken from interview

⁷⁰ Quotes taken from interview

⁷¹ Quote taken from interview

This concept of integrating Merry Hill, The Waterfront and Brierley Hill into a single town centre was referred to locally as ‘Greater Brierley Hill’ - *see figure 5.4*. Integration of existing facilities will be based on a series of features. Firstly, there will be the construction of a retail-training academy and nursery provision to teach new skills and enable more parents to enter the labour market. Presumably, this reflects the strong presence of women within the service sector. Secondly, there will be a ‘realigning’ of the canal to make it less of an obstacle to development of links within the ‘Merry Hill/Waterfront/Brierley Hill triangle’. Thirdly, there will be the removal of ‘non-conforming activities such as scrapyards’ that represents old patterns of capital accumulation and not town centre themes. Fourthly, there will be improved physical links and access.

A dominant view from the partners was that the area would develop through the process of integration, leading to the construction of a genuine town centre. As such, Keith Chalmers identified aims to include overall ‘integration... stronger connections between constituent parts... housing such as at Broad Street... [and to] make the place twenty-four hour’⁷². Still struggling after the decline of industry, Steve Clark hoped that plans for GBH would benefit the region as a whole. He stated the development would make Merry Hill ‘more of a town centre’ with a wide range of facilities and a

⁷² Quote taken from interview

mix of 'local shops as well as the shops at Merry Hill which at the moment are the sort you travel to'⁷³.

In light of these changes, Merry Hill has become more of a public space. Whilst never being exclusive in the same way as the BSRA, it was never integrated into its surroundings in the same way as the BSRA. Potentially, the centre could capitalise on its position at the heart of the Borough to provide a 'town' centre for the Borough. Terry Burchill pointed out how some in DMBC are aware that Merry Hill is 'unable to provide [a] twenty-four hour vision that Birmingham has aimed for'⁷⁴. He added that more importantly though, integration will mean a variety of facilities such as those found in established town centres, with Merry Hill attracting visitors and Brierley Hill retaining 'its role as a local, cheap place to shop'⁷⁵.

An additional benefit to the region has been the increased investment involved in further redevelopment. Noting that investment 'can only come from the private sector', Terry Burchill noted that 'unemployment is twice the national in Brierley Hill and there needs to be more investment'⁷⁶. Problematically, there was little assessment of how this investment would reduce unemployment, especially as links between the service sector and regeneration appeared to be tenuous.

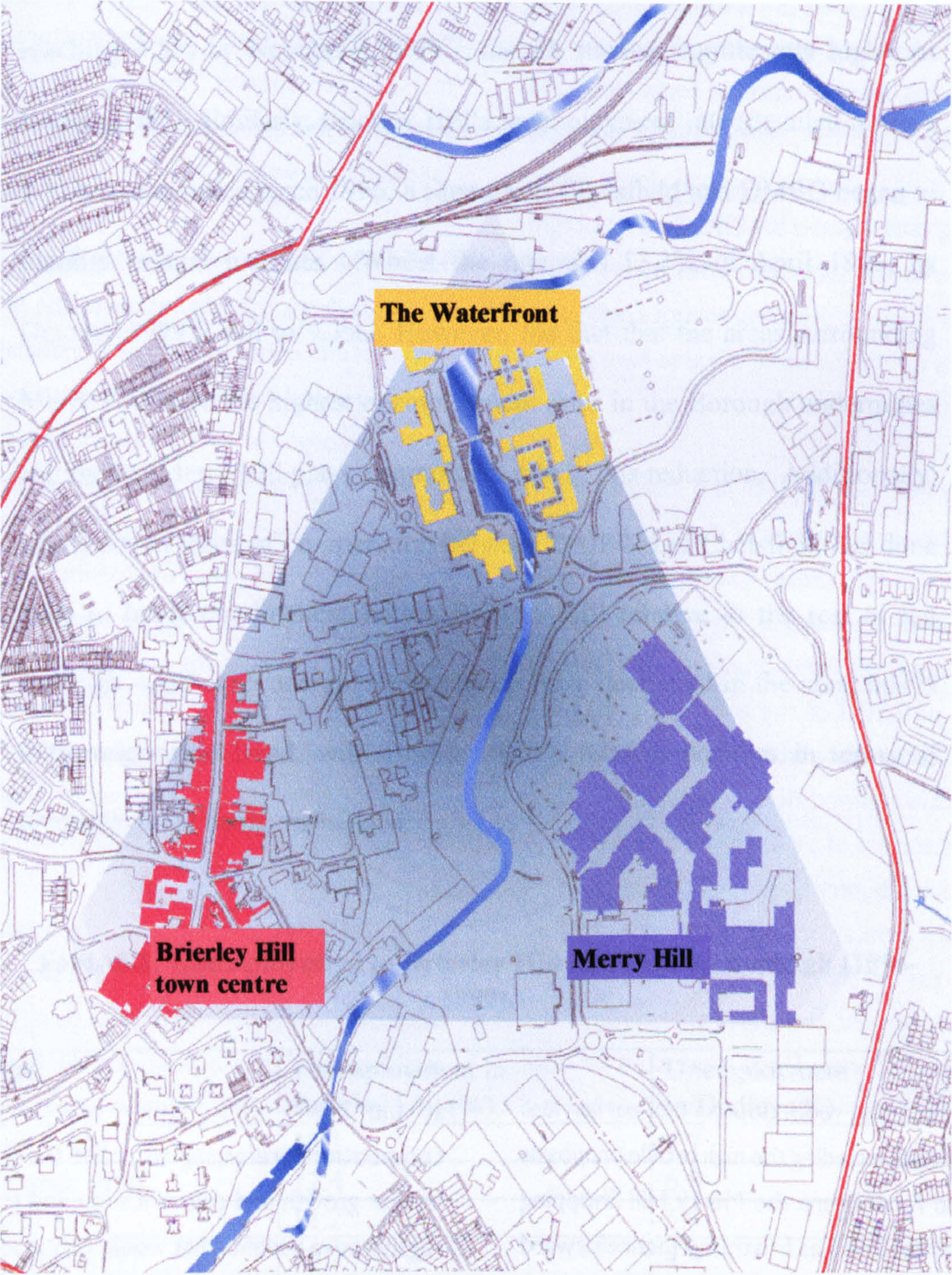
⁷³ Quotes taken from interview

⁷⁴ Quote taken from interview

⁷⁵ Quote taken from interview

⁷⁶ Quotes taken from interview

Figure 5.4, Map of the Merry Hill, Brierley Hill town centre and The Waterfront triangle- “Greater Brierley Hill”



Source: Dudley MBC, 1998

It is therefore questionable how much Merry Hill has benefited the local economy. Unemployment has fallen generally throughout the Borough, reaching 4.8% by November 1999⁷⁷, though staying significantly higher in Brierley Hill. Similarly, Brierley Hill’s unemployment rate (detailed in table 5.1) has also fallen since 1996, a time when Chelsfield and DMBC began to identify mutual interests. Whilst the rate was 13.1% in April 1996, by October 1999 it fell to 9.3%. However, the fact that the areas surrounding Merry Hill have the highest unemployment rates in the Borough undermines claims that Merry Hill plays a significant role in this reduction. Additionally, nearly seven years of co-operation between DMBC and Chelsfield has done little to boost employment within Brierley Hill relative to the rest of the Borough. Although unemployment levels have decreased in the area, this is a Borough-wide trend, with Brierley Hill’s relative position in terms of unemployment being unchanged.

Table 5.1: Unemployment in Brierley Hill and Dudley Borough (1996-1999).

Date.	Unemployment in Brierley Hill (%).	Unemployment in Dudley (%)
April 1996	13.1	7.7
October 1996	12.4	6.8
April 1997	11.2	5.9
October 1997	10.2	4.9
April 1998	9.2	4.6
October 1998	9.2	4.7
April 1999	10.3	5.4
October 1999	9.3	4.9

Source: www.Dudley.gov.uk/about/unemploy/wardtrendprev.htm

⁷⁷ <http://www.dudley.gov.uk/about/unemploy/empprevious.htm>

The local traders' association believed integration would transfer the success of Merry Hill to an ailing and shabby Brierley Hill town centre. Terry Simpson, the chair of the association, argued that 'Brierley Hill is getting quieter, we need to re-attract more customers by giving customers what they want, you cannot expect people just to turn up'⁷⁸. He argued that despite having different perspectives on regeneration, there was agreement that 'we have to look to the private sector for investment'⁷⁹.

Within this plan, the three elements of the proposed Greater Brierley Hill will retain their own individual features. This will include Merry Hill as primary retail, The Waterfront as high quality mixed development and Brierley Hill as a 'local centre with an attractive, historic environment and a range of community facilities'⁸⁰ (DMBC, 1998a). The creation of a Greater Brierley Hill will increase the presence of 'uses which are common to many town centres and not normally delivered without public subsidy (notably, higher education institutions, museums, art galleries, principal offices of government, large event spaces, concert halls and theatres)' (DMBC, 1998a: 6).

A measure of the increased importance placed on the needs of the local community was the initiation of a series of public meetings arranged to discuss the plans with local residents. This reflected a fundamental difference between the two redevelopments, which is in the differing roles of

⁷⁸ Quote taken from interview

locality and community. The construction of a Greater Brierley Hill was aimed at local people, whilst the redevelopment of Broad Street was based on business tourism and attracting visitors from outside the City. These differences defined the relationship between the development and the local community.

This chapter has illustrated that the centre's lack of integration with existing facilities limited the potential for Merry Hill to become a town centre and underpin social regeneration. This resulted from the political regulation of urban policy preventing effective local partnership formation. With this in mind, Merry Hill formed an increasing economic focus for the region in the same way that Round Oak had before. However, local people's relationship with the centre was purely economic rather than as a basis for forming social networks.

The role of Merry Hill as an emerging town centre meant there was a need to address the centre's changing relations with the local economy and local community. Chelsfield enabled a more sustainable growth for Merry Hill by constructing dialogue with DMBC. Unlike the Richardsons, Chelsfield did not appear to operate a political agenda or attempt to import a personalised element to the complex.

⁷⁹ Quote taken from interview

⁸⁰ Quote taken from interview

The move towards the construction of a 'Greater Brierley Hill' based on what has been called the 'Merry Hill/Waterfront/Brierley Hill Triangle' is significant for reasons beyond planning alone. The proposals represented the genesis of a partnership arrangement between private developers and the local authority. Presently, it is too early to assess the success of these new relationships, or the direction that such a relationship will take. However, the background to the establishment of a partnership demonstrates a series of locally specific features that distinguish it from the experiences of Birmingham.

An essential question that arises from these changes concerns how the local authority changed their position from opposition to support of Merry Hill. Examination of DMBC minutes shows that there was no mention of Merry Hill between 1986 and 1994, this was indicative of the local authority's relationship with the centre at that time. An initial acceptance of Merry Hill's impact on the locality was evident in proposals to improve the A4036 as important for the region⁸¹.

The planned expansion of Merry Hill also brought the relationship between the centre's owners and the Council to the fore, with the Council supporting the expansion providing Chelsfield made a commitment to improve local roads and town centres⁸². Despite rejection of the plan following the public enquiry, the proposal itself appears to have been a watershed in defining

⁸¹DMBC Council meeting, 27/1/94; 14/7/94.

relations between the parties. Subsequent discussions regarding the regeneration of Brierley Hill and integration with Merry Hill were carried out in private session, leaving it hard to assess the nature of the debate. It does, however, appear to be curious that, after excluding the public from Council business on the matters, there was a series of public meetings to discuss the subject. Despite this, support for the retail-training academy and nursery provision has come from the Council⁸³. The total cost of the project, outlined in the application for Single Regeneration Budget (SRB) funding is £6.709m with £1.851m coming from the SRB, £1.250m from ERDF, £3.388m from the private sector and £0.120m from English Partnerships. Dudley MBC is left to find the remaining £100,000⁸⁴, though they are hopeful of receiving other grants from central government to cover this cost⁸⁵.

Overall, the enterprise culture represents a union of political and economic forces, which prove to be both dynamic and transitory. In Dudley, the development of Merry Hill represented a significant product of the enterprise culture, whereby local business was released from the constraints of 'red tape'. However, it is questionable whether this benefited the local economy and local people. People living in Brierley Hill appear to experience no advantage from Merry Hill, while many people who have

⁸²DMBC Policy Committee meeting, 20/9/95; 8/5/96.

⁸³DMBC Council meeting, 27/11/97; 29/1/98; 23/4/98.

⁸⁴DMBC Council meeting, 29/1/98

⁸⁵DMBC Council meeting, report of the policy committee, 27/11/97

gained employment experience either insecure, part-time work or have been relocated.

5.5, Summary

The central argument of this thesis is global and national factors determine common ground between the redevelopments, whilst local factors determine the differences. As such, the case studies have illustrated links between Merry Hill and global/national factors. Additionally, the case study illustrates a range of locally specific issues that determine the development of Merry Hill in unique ways.

Overall, the case study shows how the economy of the region moved from a heavy reliance on industry to an increased dependence on the service sector. The development of Merry Hill is central to this shift for two reasons. Firstly, the decline of industry was a catalyst to redevelopment. Secondly, Merry Hill has enabled the local service sector to expand in ways not possible in traditional, parochial town centres.

By mapping out a chronological development from Round Oak to Merry Hill, it is possible to identify major themes from Chapters One and Two. Most striking is support for the argument of a periodised development of

capitalism, witnessed through distinct patterns of accumulation and regulation.

Having examined key issues in both redevelopments, the next step is to explicitly draw out theoretical concerns and analyse the two redevelopments in a comparative manner.

Chapter Six

Analysis

6.1, Introduction

The central argument of this thesis has been that while global and national factors determined common elements to the redevelopment process, local factors determined differences. With this in mind, Chapter Six identifies and analyses the main themes to arise from the theoretical issues raised in Chapters One and Two in conjunction with the empirical evidence presented in the case studies. Consequently, it deals with the two main concerns of the thesis; firstly, examining the research objectives outlined in Chapter Three and, secondly, identifying similarities and differences between the two redevelopments.

The chapter is organised in a chronological manner. Following the process of change in this way illustrates the systematic decline of industry and subsequent emergence of urban redevelopment as a response to economic and social crisis. Consequently, the chapter is broken down into three distinct sections. The first section, covering 1977 to 1984, analyses the emergence and entrenchment of local crises, with little in the way of co-ordinated local responses. Both case studies are relatively similar during

this period, featuring a decline in traditional patterns of capital accumulation.

The second section analyses the period covering 1984 to 1993, during which time the BSRA and Merry Hill began to develop and underpin emerging new forms of capital accumulation which were distinct from manufacturing and industry. Despite this initial similarity, consensus between local business and BCC characterised the BSRA, while conflicts of interests between local economic and political actors and political turmoil typified the development of Merry Hill. With stability being determined by complementary regulation and accumulation, 1984 to 1993 was a period of emerging local stability in Birmingham whilst Dudley was still in crisis. Consequently, this was a period of notable difference between the regions, with the configuration of accumulation and regulation defining the difference.

The final section of the chapter, analyses the period covering 1993 to 2000, which is most notable for the change in Dudley MBC's policies towards Merry Hill and Chelsfield's recognition of common interests with the local authority. The result was a series of steps towards regime formation and plans for 'Greater Brierley Hill' that meant this period represented the emergence of stability within the Borough and increasing similarities between the two case studies.

Figure 6.1: Structure of this chapter based on time-scale of change

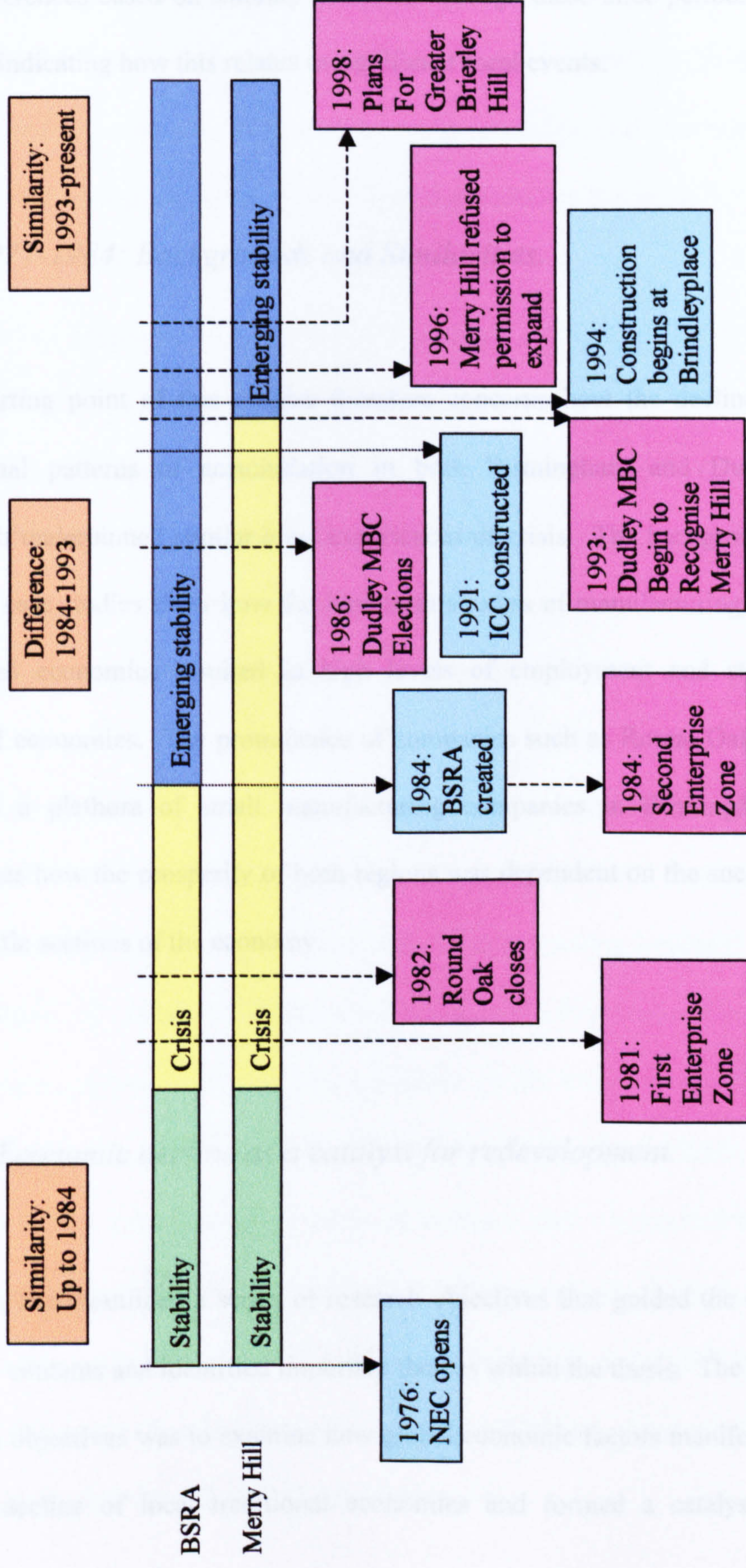


Figure 6.1 graphically illustrates this time-scale by identifying similarities and differences based on stability and crisis through these three periods, as well as indicating how this relates to significant local events.

6.2, 1977-1984: Backgrounds and Similarities.

The starting point of this chapter therefore concerns how the decline in traditional patterns of accumulation in both Birmingham and Dudley Borough underpinned similar local experiences of crisis. The backgrounds to both case studies show how the long-term success of manufacturing and industrial economies resulted in high levels of employment and stable regional economies. The prominence of companies such as Round Oak, as well as a plethora of small manufacturing companies in Birmingham, highlights how the prosperity of both regions was dependent on the success of specific sections of the economy.

6.2.1, Economic decline as a catalyst for redevelopment.

Chapter Three outlined a series of research objectives that guided the case studies' contents and identified important themes within the thesis. The first of these objectives was to examine how global economic factors manifested in the decline of local traditional economies and formed a catalyst to

redevelopment. Significantly, both case studies commenced by identifying decline in traditional economies and progressed by examining how redevelopment strategies were a conscious response to such a position. Consequently, the first task for this chapter is to analyse and compare the influence of economic decline in Birmingham and Dudley Borough.

This section commences by arguing that decline in traditional economies illustrated crisis in established local regimes of accumulation. However, this section continues by arguing that defining the concept of crisis solely in terms of capital accumulation fails to account for case study findings concerning the local diversity in experiences of crisis as well as the manner in which economic crisis manifested in social terms.

By analysing similarities between the redevelopments during the period 1977 to 1984, this chapter recognises the presence of 'extra-local' influences. Looking at the localities alone, the most striking similarity was the collapse of traditional economies, subsequent urban redevelopment programmes, and the consequential expansion of the local service sector. However, in order to analyse rather than merely describe these events, it is important to go beyond the boundaries of localised observations and place the redevelopments within a context that accounts for such similarities. One of the important findings from the case studies that points to the BSRA and Merry Hill being influenced by global and national factors common to both regions is the way they adhered to similar time-scales.

Examining these time-scales, the economies of Birmingham and the Black Country both developed rapidly from the nineteenth century and throughout the twentieth century, with the period 1945-75 particularly fitting into Boyer's (1990) identification of 'thirty glorious years'. The success of Round Oak in Brierley Hill and manufacturing in Birmingham underpinned Fordist expansion and stability, and was illustrated by low levels of unemployment, prosperous local retail and strong manufacturing output. Representative of local stability, the balance of production and consumption over time was epitomised by a specific long-term configuration of capital accumulation and a complementary mode of regulation.

However, stability in both regions was a precursor for periods of crisis that were to be characterised by increased unemployment, contraction of local economies, and decline in regional facilities such as retail. Decline and closure of Round Oak in Dudley Borough and the contraction of Birmingham's manufacturing economy began in the late 1970s and continued throughout the 1980s. Disrupting the balance between production and consumption, this not only undermined the traditional regime of accumulation that was characteristic of stability, it also challenged the legitimacy of local social regulation that had complemented previous accumulation regimes. As such, in addition to economic strategies to address local crises, political restructuring was also necessary before stability could re-emerge. Importantly therefore as a starting point, the

emergence of crisis occurred at the same in both regions, beginning in the 1970s and continuing into the 1980s.

Furthermore, significant expansion of local service sectors occurred from the mid-1980s following the creation of the BSRA and Merry Hill opening as a shopping centre (rather than just warehouse shopping) in 1984. However, by arguing that the redevelopments were responses to previous declines in traditional economies, it is necessary to identify two separate and distinct economic processes; firstly, de-industrialisation and, secondly, development of the service sector - though there are obvious links between the two.

Relating these two processes to urban redevelopment, it can be seen that firstly, the decline in traditional economies was the catalyst for service sector expansion because without initial experiences of crisis there was no specific reason to diversify regional economies. Secondly, regional economies underwent significant shifts in terms of their composition, with these two processes being the main elements of change. As such, the decline of industry and manufacturing was the initial challenge to the hegemonic structure of accumulation and regulation, with subsequent service sector expansion illustrating a process aimed at regaining stability.

Establishing new regimes of accumulation based on the success of the BSRA and Merry Hill began to sow the seeds for re-establishing local

stability, as well as demonstrating why it was essential for these enclaves of new accumulation to develop and expand within the regions. Importantly, previous definitions of stability highlighted how stability results from complementary accumulation and regulation, showing how new regimes of accumulation needed to be accompanied by effective forms of social regulation for stability to exist.

Linking such definitions to the economic fortunes of Birmingham and Dudley, a series of extra-local factors underpinned local experiences of economic decline. Evidence of extra-local factors came initially from the works of Hamilton (1984), Duffy (1995) and Pacione (1997b) examined in previous chapters. These writers identified a series of changes in the global distribution of production which resulted in decline of Britain's share of the manufacturing and industrial economies. While Hamilton recognises the global nature of change, Pacione and Duffy examine the local consequences. Additionally, interviews with local actors supported the argument of economic decline being extra-local in its origins by pointing out how local economic decline was beyond their control. Although such actors have a personal stake in placing the blame for economic decline away from their own doorstep, their evidence in conjunction with existing literature and urban policies aimed at developing new regimes of accumulation supports such a position. Situating local economies within a global network in this way, the case studies demonstrated that local experiences of economic issues produced a situation that can initially be termed crisis. Importantly

however, crisis goes beyond just accumulation because it concerns the complementarity between regulation and accumulation, thereby stressing the social and political aspects of crisis.

Unquestionably, the starting points to identifying local crises were the tangible indicators of economic recession such as output, unemployment, and factory closures. However, interviews with local actors illustrated that it is misleading to limit definitions of crisis solely to economic indicators. In addition to the obvious economic dimension, were distinct social elements to local experiences of crisis not immediately apparent from studying capital accumulation.

This is important because it highlighted that although there were direct experiences of economic decline, such as unemployment and loss of prosperity, economic decline was also experienced indirectly through social phenomena shown in the case studies to include new patterns of retail, increasingly exclusive leisure, and closure of existing local community facilities. Supporting a definition of local crises in terms of the social and political consequences of economic decline rather than just economic decline itself, this section argues that those in urban regimes managed the social element of crisis, and, therefore, the way in which local communities experience crisis.

With this in mind, the case studies demonstrated how local actors in the three categories identified in Chapter Three featured a wide range of relations to the economy, leading to experiences of economic decline being a complex and diverse phenomenon. Leading on to one of the first findings of this research, recession and crisis appeared common to both regions and, as such, identified a fundamental similarity. However, this alone was too sweeping because with economic decline being experienced through a range of social networks and facilities, local experiences remained diverse. As such, while broad patterns of crisis were evident, a more accurate and detailed comparison comes from examining the way the regions specifically experienced crisis.

Drawing on the case study evidence of social and political dimensions to crisis, accumulation-based definitions of crisis are limited in their applicability to local studies, including the formulation of redevelopment strategies, because of their leaning towards macro-level generalisations and domination by economic indicators.

Moving away from this position, interviewees highlighted a qualitative aspect to local crisis, developing existing quantitative measures based on economic indicators. This was important because as well as enabling the identification of locally specific experiences of crisis, the research went beyond measures and indicators based on high levels of generalisability, consequently recognising regional differences within generic trends.

From this position, it was possible to make two important claims. Firstly, comparing the two case studies shows different intra-local experiences of, and responses to, crisis between the three local structures of politics, business and community outlined in Chapter Three. Secondly, despite overall quantitative similarities between the regions being clearly evident, inter-local experiences of crisis enabled comparisons between the comparable structures in each location. With this in mind, not only did experiences of crisis vary from one region to another, so to did the experiences of subsequent responses such as redevelopment strategies. In other words, despite initially recognising a broad pattern of crisis followed by redevelopment, this fails to account for the local diversity of experience.

Looking firstly at communities, interview data highlighted how experiences of crisis included the indirect effects of economic decline encountered through changes in local networks and facilities necessary for community existence. In other words, social phenomena such as retail and leisure mediate between communities and the economy, with potential regeneration needing to address not only the economy, but also the state of those social facilities providing a medium.

Therefore, a key feature of redevelopment strategies was not only their limited ability to regenerate economically, but also their limited ability to regenerate facilities that mediated between the economy and local

communities. Through interviews with those active in local communities, qualitative issues regarding declining local retail and recreation facilities, gentrification and the expense of new facilities supplemented quantitative issues of economic contraction. Although local community respondents were not in a position to evaluate economic indicators or new regimes of accumulation, they were in a position to identify local experiences of such events and, therefore, contextualised economic changes in terms of their social impact.

In contrast, interview data from those within local businesses overlooked this broader social dimension of crisis by focusing on the economic dimension of crisis, such as declining profits. Illustrative of their economically oriented relationship to the region and their commercial interest within redevelopment strategies, they adopted a ‘no use crying over spilt milk’ attitude and were mainly concerned with economic diversification to facilitate economic success.

Consequently, the general attitude in the business ‘community’ was that economic decline presented a series of opportunities, such as an increase in vacant land suitable for development and an increased pool of cheap and flexible labour. Therefore, factors such as retail, leisure and public facilities that mediate between local communities and the economy were understood by businesses in terms of profit rather than their social impact. This shaped

subsequent redevelopment strategies by affording primacy to economic rather than social regeneration.

Despite these intra-regional differences, local community responses and local business responses within the two regions were comparable, showing how experiences of crisis featured two different aspects, social and economic. Importantly, with the redevelopments being conscious responses to crisis, it is essential to assess what aspects of crisis redevelopment strategies were addressing.

In contrast to communities and business, interview data from local authorities showed them to have ‘a foot in both camps’ by being aware of both the social *and* the economic dimensions to crisis. Resulting from formal contact with the other local structures, the interview data demonstrated awareness of both business and community demands. Local authorities were thereby faced with a juggling task regarding prioritisation. Overall however, a dominant, though unquantified, belief that economic regeneration would lead to social regeneration was evident in local authority beliefs.

This was most notable in Birmingham, where large sums of public money were ‘invested’ in the BSRA with the hope that it would trickle-down to those in need. Ideologically this assumed that economic regeneration implicitly determined social regeneration. Firstly, trickle-down is a tenuous

belief that holds little credibility and appears to be based on their partnership with local businesses. Secondly, it ignores the fact that the redevelopment process itself mediates between the economy and local communities, therefore providing an opportunity to develop facilities for all local residents rather than relying on business-tourism and the ‘cosmopolitanisation’ of leisure. This highlights a difference between the two redevelopments - Merry Hill developed facilities for local people to use, whilst the BSRA exacerbated many people’s experiences of crisis.

Relating this to theories from Chapter One, a notable difference between the local authorities lay in their analyses of local accumulation. Evident in Birmingham City Council’s willingness to develop the service sector, commission a feasibility study into a conference centre, as well as data from interviews, BCC clearly accepted that traditional forms of capital accumulation had gone forever. In contrast, Dudley MBC believed that the decline of their traditional industrial economy was temporary and surmountable, a belief evident in their conditional support for Enterprise Zones as a method of industrial regeneration and opposition to local service sector expansion.

Relating this to the first research objective, that economic decline was a catalyst for the redevelopments; the next question to ask is how the redevelopments compare in terms of developing new economic profiles for the regions. Importantly, many local actors from both regions identified the

need for new patterns of capital accumulation after the decline of traditional economies. However, evidence from the case studies demonstrated that the redevelopments did not themselves *provide* new forms of capital accumulation, as they are only a collection of bricks and mortar - although they provided a short-term boost to the local construction economy. Instead, the redevelopments were a method of *enabling* new long-term patterns of capital accumulation based around retail and the service sector and, therefore, provided a vehicle for, rather than a source of, local economic diversification or change.

Both redevelopments featured a heavy emphasis on retail, leisure and office space. Additionally, they were both large projects that increasingly centralised and boosted local service sector facilities. Relating this to issues around local regimes of accumulation, the BSRA and Merry Hill were significant features of shifting regional economies.

Due to previous reliance on the fortunes of manufacturing and industry, economic decline was severe in both regions and there was a clear need for local economic regeneration strategies that would include expansion of other areas of the economy. Relating this back to Chapter One, evidence from Hamilton (1984), Pacione (1997b) and the case studies indicated a global origin to economic decline. Consequently, global factors indirectly influenced service sector expansion by creating a *raison d'être*, though the specifics of service sector expansion was shaped by local actors. This

begins to explore the relationship between global and local factors by illustrating how global events created a situation that inspired local activity.

Importantly, global factors did not therefore determine local redevelopments; although the redevelopment strategies were responsive to global factors, local actors determined their formats and objectives. This supports the central argument of the research that while global factors underpinned similarities between the redevelopments, local elements determined differences.

Consequently, while economic decline underpinned local experiences of crisis, these experiences varied both between regions and between local structures such as community business and politics. That said, economic decline and crisis were undoubtedly common to both case studies, raising the question of whether economic decline formed a catalyst for redevelopment strategies.

Regarding the distinction between ‘catalyst’ and ‘determinant’, economic decline led to a degeneration of those local networks and facilities that acted as a medium between the economy and localities. As such, while economic decline was significant in accounts of local change, it was not the only factor to shape local experiences of crisis. National politics, as well as locally specific factors, exerted influence over political decisions such as spending, planning and marketing. Relating this to the redevelopments, while

economic change lay at the heart of redevelopment strategies, political factors and local issues determined the format of these strategies. Therefore, the economy started the redevelopment ball rolling by creating an economic environment conducive to redevelopment, but politics and locally specific influences determined the direction in which it rolled.

Assessing this difference between catalyst and determinant, redevelopment strategies have involved a series of steps occurring between economic decline and the eventual construction and support of the local redevelopments. Although the case studies highlighted a complex link between economic change and redevelopment, its indirect nature served to discount any argument of economic change determining the redevelopment process. Hence, while economic decline was a common factor to Birmingham and Dudley Borough, it was the configurations of political and local influences that meant subsequent responses were unique.

Awareness of redevelopment as a response to economic decline occurring within a political framework identifies the redevelopments as a synthesis of economic and political forces, with the dominance of urban governance in the redevelopment process illustrating this point. The chapter continues by looking firstly at the economic aspect of redevelopment and, secondly, the political.

Firstly, private sector actors were eager to develop new forms of economic activity, starting with the Richardsons buying land in the newly created Enterprise Zones. Arguably, this represented little more than an opportunistic investment by the Richardson brothers to buy land that would incur little in the way of overheads. However, two issues highlight how decline in the local traditional economy influenced their activities. Firstly, they would have known about the lack of success industrial units achieved on the site, as well as more generally throughout the region. Secondly, despite their involvement in the local industrial economy through scrap metal and transport, they made no effort to develop industry on the site.

Having identified local economic decline, the Richardsons decided to develop new patterns of capital accumulation, evident in the development of retail warehouses that eventually became Merry Hill. Consequently, the Richardsons identified that the local industrial economy was ‘finished’ and the need to develop what Eddie Young termed ‘a new type of economic activity’. Hence, the Richardsons developed new forms of economic activity in response to a changing economic climate.

Similarly, private sector actors in Birmingham were also keen to develop new forms of capital accumulation. Evidence of this being, firstly, their willingness to provide capital for the City Council’s plans for a ‘festival market place’, and secondly, interviews with managers at Brindleyplace plc

demonstrated their recognition of an irreversible decline in Birmingham's economy and an opportunity to expand the service sector.

6.2.2, Political regulation of redevelopment strategies

So far, it has been argued that economic decline was a catalyst for redevelopment strategies because of the way it challenged dominant regional regimes of accumulation and created a situation where redevelopment becomes a strategy to regenerate the local economy. However, economic decline determined neither that redevelopments would occur nor the way in which they manifested on the local stage. Consequently, economic decline was only a catalyst because it presented a series of economic opportunities that enabled local redevelopments to become viable bases for new patterns of regional capital accumulation. Presented with these opportunities, the case studies demonstrate how local actors formulated specific redevelopment strategies and carried them out in places such as Birmingham and Dudley Borough. This chapter proceeds by arguing that the redevelopments occurred within a distinct and influential political framework that directed the nature of response to economic factors and, thereby, provided boundaries for redevelopment strategies.

Chapter Two highlighted the emergence of an enterprise culture and how entrepreneurs were characteristic of political change relevant to the

redevelopments, raising questions of the extent to which the redevelopments were entrepreneurial and how they related to the enterprise culture. Importantly, a broad national political framework influenced local redevelopment strategies. With national political objectives aiming to support certain patterns of accumulation, they formed part of the mode of regulation and highlighted a national dimension to social regulation, in addition to local factors.

Based on the literature in Chapter Two, and evidence presented in the case studies, the redevelopments were entrepreneurial because they enabled new forms of investment as a method of tackling local crises following economic decline. Typified as trickle-down in the case studies, there was a dominant rationale that new investment would intrinsically benefit local communities. Remaining a deeply problematic concept, increased reliance on the economy to determine social equity meant there was no guarantee that the people most affected by economic decline would be the same people to benefit from consequential investment. Despite such concerns, the BSRA case study shows how the City Council used trickle-down as a legitimating factor for the redevelopment. While there was some private sector support for trickle-down, notions of social equity were not essential objectives of the private sector, whose major concern was return on investment. Despite this, there was some implicit support within the private sector for trickle-down, with Chapter Five justifiably arguing that the Richardson brothers believed

their investment would benefit the region, leading to Lowe's (1993) characterisation of them as 'local heroes'.

Furthermore, and linking the Richardsons to the aforementioned regulatory influence of national government, indirect support for trickle-down came from the presence of Enterprise Zones, a policy based on the belief that regeneration was determined solely by encouraging more investment. Clearly, there was some logic in this position when considering that the starting point for local crises was recession caused by regional disinvestment. However, this chapter has already argued that an essential element in defining crisis is the way people experienced it through various social networks and facilities. Despite this social element to crisis, the Enterprise Zones only acknowledged economic aspects of crisis and, by marginalising local authorities, increased the influence of business actors primarily concerned with economic objectives, consequently limiting opportunities for social regeneration.

With both Merry Hill and the BSRA, support for trickle-down came ostensibly from (albeit eventually in the case of Dudley Borough) the political actors and illustrated their reliance on popular local support for political legitimisation. As such, the redevelopment process and consequential development of the local economy was a basis for legitimisation.

Overall, three factors from the case studies further support the argument that trickle-down was a political rather than economic issue, despite concerning the investment and distribution of economic resources. Firstly, only political actors placed much importance on the concept. Secondly, many political actors have since dismissed the concept, with members of Birmingham City Council discrediting trickle-down and central government describing the Enterprise Zones as 'less than successful'. Thirdly, trickle-down lacks any empirical support in economic terms.

Trickle-down therefore illustrated a particular political ideology, encapsulated within what has been termed the enterprise culture, and featuring an ideological underpinning within local social regulation. Arguing, therefore, that support for trickle-down was important as an illustration of political restructuring, the most noticeable manifestation was the use of public money to support businesses. Such investment rested on the assumption that public money spent in supporting businesses rather than directly on welfare would make local communities more sustainable. As such, public spending that relied on an ultimate benefit to local communities arriving through a third party (business) can be described as indirect welfare. Examples of this political logic were evident in Birmingham City Council's spending on the BSRA and foregone revenue with the Enterprise Zones. Certainly there is some credibility to the argument that welfare spending on its own is not enough to combat more deeply embedded economic problems. However, the increasingly entrepreneurial solution of indirect welfare

shifted the focus to economic regeneration at the expense of social regeneration.

Consequently, political support was instrumental in enabling entrepreneurial responses to economic decline at Broad Street and Merry Hill. In terms of local redevelopment strategies, political support emanated, primarily, from local authorities and included Birmingham City Council's spending on redevelopment projects and Dudley MBC's decision to apply for Enterprise Zone status. However, it is important to remember that this occurred within the context of a broader national political framework.

Importantly, here lies the beginning of difference between the two regions, based on the activities of local political actors. Birmingham City Council supported policies that were identifiable as part of the enterprise culture because they supported new patterns of capital accumulation and embraced political restructuring that underpinned new forms of social regulation. In contrast, Dudley MBC only supported Enterprise Zones because they believed them to be a method of regenerating industry, despite shifting the balance of planning from local authorities to local businesses. The difference lay in the fact that Birmingham City Council wanted to diversify the local economy and, consequently, worked in a consensual manner with the private sector to this end. However, Dudley MBC specifically wanted to regenerate the region's traditional, though declining, economic base and hoped the Enterprise Zones would bring this about. Unlike the BSRA, the

private sector was the sole local dynamic of new accumulation, with the Richardson brothers being highly entrepreneurial in response to national government urban policies. Significantly, Dudley MBC misjudged the local economy and marginalised their own future influence by initially supporting the Enterprise Zones.

As well as such differences, there are discernible similarities between the two cases regarding their location within a context of national politics supporting free enterprise and opposing any indication of municipal socialism. Identifying how the national political environment influenced the redevelopment process is important because it challenges any claims that economic objectives alone determined the redevelopment processes.

Generally, while nationally formulated urban policy enabled local entrepreneurs to side-step local authority controls in the short-term, it also acted as a barrier to forming a local mode of regulation. Hence, it was no coincidence that in Dudley, where there were Enterprise Zones, Merry Hill replicated local facilities, failed to integrate with its surroundings, and was unable to expand. In contrast, in Birmingham, where local political actors increasingly determined social regulation, the BSRA rapidly became integrated with, and complementary to, existing facilities.

Overall, the chronological similarities of economic growth followed by recession and ultimately expansion of the service sector illustrated the

presence of influential factors that were common to both Birmingham and Dudley. By going beyond the boundaries of locality it is possible to identify the true nature of these similarities, with both being products of global economic and national political events. As such, the redevelopments were, to an extent, products of global and national issues, thus supporting the argument that global and national factors underpinned common ground between the two redevelopments. Accepting this position that global and national factors were highly influential, local variations indicated that they fell short of actually determining the nature and format of the redevelopments, thus pointing to the fact that there must also be locally specific influences in redevelopment strategies.

In summary, the main aim of this first section was to address the research objective of examining how global economic factors manifested in the decline of local traditional economies and formed a catalyst to redevelopment. From evidence in the case studies, it is clear that economic decline was indeed a major catalyst for urban redevelopment, though it did not determine the nature of local redevelopment strategies. In other words, global economic restructuring started the process of redevelopment by creating a conducive environment, but it did not determine how the process developed locally- this was done by political factors.

6.3, 1984-1993: Local responses and differences

The chapter continues by examining the period from 1984 until 1993, arguing that this represented a period of significant difference between the two redevelopments. Following the creation of the BSRA in 1984, Birmingham City Council operated in partnership with the private sector to change the local infrastructure in order to enable new patterns of capital accumulation.

Additionally, in 1984, the first phase of development began at Merry Hill under the guidance of the Richardson brothers. However, rather than marking the beginning of a local consensus regarding the regime of accumulation, this heralded a period of local conflict between developers and Dudley MBC. Characterising significant differences between the two sites, this lasted until around 1993 when Dudley MBC and Chelsfield began to co-operate around on the subject of developing Merry Hill.

6.3.1, Global decline and political boundaries: Comparing local responses

Accumulation-based definitions of crisis, such as defining Fordism only in terms of accumulation (Harvey, 1990), overlook the social dimension of

crisis by failing to account for the variety of local experiences evident in the case studies. Furthermore, it has also been argued that economic decline was a catalyst for redevelopment strategies. Combining these two issues, this chapter continues by addressing the second research objective of assessing how global and national factors underpinned common ground between the redevelopments, whilst locally specific factors determined differences.

This section thereby analyses the way in which local political and economic actors in Birmingham formed partnerships. Important in the study of redevelopment strategies, this shaped spending priorities and underpinned objectives for the redevelopment, as well as providing a method to compare the BSRA with Merry Hill.

One of the first differences noted lay in the responses of the local authorities. Evidence from Chapter Four shows how Birmingham City Council was willing to embrace changes in local accumulation by developing new patterns of social regulation that involved redefining spending priorities, developing new links with private sector actors, and compromising over the format of redevelopment projects. In contrast, Dudley MBC was not prepared to compromise with private sector actors regarding the nature of redevelopment strategies, nor was the council willing to adjust spending priorities to ensure the redevelopment integrated with the

region. Answering the question of what led to Birmingham City Council being prepared to embrace change, this thesis identifies three main reasons.

Firstly, there was the political will within Birmingham City Council to support a new regime of accumulation with specific policies and rhetoric. Interviews with those within Birmingham City Council identified an entrepreneurial political attitude of supporting the private sector to diversify the local economy. Importantly, bearing in mind the 1980s political environment of confronting socialist local authorities, this was not a position adopted under duress, but one willingly taken. Not only was this evident in interviews, Birmingham City Council policies regarding spending and involvement in marketing also demonstrated an active support for a new local regime of accumulation.

In contrast, Dudley MBC did not show the same willingness for political restructuring, instead expressing support for the traditional regime of accumulation, evident in Dudley MBC's conditional support for the Enterprise Zones as a basis for industrial regeneration. Furthermore, as Merry Hill became increasingly commercially popular, there was no attempt by the MBC to integrate it into the region through marketing or road changes, thereby limiting potential stability as Merry Hill became constricted and remained an economic enclave within the region.

Secondly, there was the issue of precedence. NEC Ltd provided a model for Birmingham City Council and private sector actors of how a public-private partnership could operate in terms of formal channels of communication, meeting objectives, and generating profit. The NEC also provided a successful example of a service sector development that had the potential to be adapted to a city centre setting. In contrast, neither Dudley MBC nor the Richardson brothers had a previous framework of partnership activity in place, a factor that compounded their political differences.

Thirdly, ownership of land was also influential in determining how local authorities approached changes in the regime of accumulation. Birmingham City Council owned large areas of land in the city centre, which meant they had bargaining power in shaping the redevelopment process. Although the private sector provided capital, Birmingham City Council not only had governing capacity, but also land needed by the private sector. In contrast, the influence of Enterprise Zones in Dudley Borough marginalised the local authority in terms of governing capacity, as well as land ownership.

These three factors were important because they shaped relations between local authorities and the private sector. Influential in terms of regime formation, relations between the public and private sectors underpinned patterns of local social regulation. Importantly, while global and national factors shaped local experiences of crisis, the activities of local actors determined the redevelopments' format.

Arguing that 1984 to 1993 represented a period of distinct difference between the redevelopment processes, an important factor in defining such difference was therefore the political enticement of private sector investment. Chapter Four showed how Birmingham City Council was proactive in securing private sector investment, demonstrated by support for the Ecotec study, spending on the BSRA and a willingness to form partnerships with the private sector.

In contrast, Dudley MBC was not active in the hunt for private sector investment during this period. Despite an initial commitment to the Enterprise Zones that entailed £18m of lost rates (Dudley MBC, 1997: 2), this did not compare to Birmingham City Council's commitment in terms of either financial support or continuity. Certainly, it needs pointing out that the financial aspect reflected the different sizes of the local authorities and their different resources. However, Birmingham City Council's continuity of support for new enterprise, compared with Dudley MBC's conditional support only for industry, distinguished the two local authorities. Birmingham City Council's political dynamism compared to Dudley MBC's intransigence, highlighting distinct differences between the two local authorities.

The different local authority spending patterns on urban redevelopments and attraction of private sector investment illustrated different political

standpoints, with BCC adopting a more entrepreneurial position. Importantly, this illustrated the difference in local modes of regulation because of the way that local authority spending aimed to support specific forms of capital accumulation. From this perspective, it is possible to identify different economic objectives relating to each local authority, with the case studies showing that after the decline of traditional economies both local authorities attempted to support different forms of capital accumulation and were involved in different patterns of social regulation.

Birmingham City Council embraced local service sector investment by supporting it through spending, policies and commitment to marketing. This is due, in no small part, to locally specific factors such as the success of NEC Ltd, BSRA's city centre location, and the historic precedence of Broad Street as a prestige area of the city centre. In contrast, Dudley MBC supported a continuation of the existing local regime of accumulation, demonstrated by their withdrawal of support for the Enterprise Zones when it became clear that they were underpinning service sector development.

Implicit in supporting new regimes of accumulation in Birmingham was the emergence of a new local mode of regulation, demonstrated by political changes in the City Council. The City Council's reliance on trickle-down as a basis for local regeneration illustrated such a change, implying that support for new patterns of local capital accumulation was primarily motivated by political considerations, rather than by benefits for local people.

Examining this issue further, the formation of public-private partnerships within the BSRA demonstrated recognition of mutual interest between Birmingham City Council and local developers. The partnership formalised this recognition and geared social regulation towards the mutual goals of the partners involved. Importantly, the lack of community involvement within either the planing process or the partnership meant community interests were not necessarily recognised. Additionally, there remains little evidence, either before or after the redevelopment, that the service sector as a basis for new patterns of local capital accumulation would effectively regenerate localities. Despite this, Birmingham City Council spent large sums of money on the BSRA to provide the necessary infrastructure to enable economic activity. This spending amounted to a start-up cost for expanding certain features of the local economy.

In contrast, Dudley MBC did not initially base their policies on the notion of benefits trickling down from expansion of the service sector and, consequently, refused to support the development of Merry Hill or form partnerships with the developers in the early days. As with Birmingham, there was no formal input from local communities into the planning process, however, there was also no conscious exclusion, as the Richardson brothers were aware that they relied on local patronage, unlike the BSRA.

This raises the question of how local actors relate to global and national factors. Arguably, the decline of traditional economies in Birmingham and Dudley Borough and the emergence of developments such as BSRA and Merry Hill were inevitable, with Chapter One highlighting those factors in the decline of Western manufacturing and industrial economies which were beyond local or national control. However, the relative autonomy of local actors lay in their ability to formulate precise responses, challenging the notion that the move from production to consumption was a generic, homogeneous process.

This was most noticeable in the case of Merry Hill. Global factors accounted for the decline of traditional economies and were largely beyond the control of national actors and certainly beyond the control of local actors. However, new forms of sustainable capital accumulation only emerged when there was an appropriate local mode of regulation, which was clearly missing in the case of Merry Hill. Consequently, Merry Hill was, during this period, unable to expand fully or to act as a catalyst for other parts of the local service sector. Only when the local authority supported this new regime of accumulation was it possible to integrate Merry Hill with its surroundings and other parts of the service sector benefited. In other words, global factors initiated change, while local factors determined responses.

Importantly, the local authority was not the only site of regulation. Analysis in Chapter Two of local governance shows local business and central government play an influential role in constructing a mode of regulation. Again, the example of Merry Hill illustrated this point, with central government and the Richardson brothers combining to develop new regulatory patterns regarding public spending, the labour market and marketing. However, the local authority's influence was also evident in the inability of the centre to integrate and expand without the MBC's support.

So far, this chapter has argued that in the face of local experiences of global economic change, local actors shaped local social regulation to complement economic objectives. However, it is argued that national actors also played an important role in determining social regulation. Consequently, this chapter proceeds by arguing that there existed a hierarchy of social regulation rather than just one specific form. Having already examined the role of a national political environment regarding the enterprise culture, the next step is to assess the influence of urban policy on local regulation.

Blackman's definition of urban policy as being 'essentially about the welfare of local residents' (1995: 5) seems weak given the exclusion of local residents from urban policy formation and the claims that urban redevelopment was based on a tenuous notion of benefits trickling down to local communities. This combined with the importance of political

economy places increasing credibility on Pacione's definition of urban policy as 'the management of urban change' (1997b: 23).

Comparing the two case studies in this light, it is evident that the relevant facets of urban change were social, economic and political. Overall, there was little input to policy formation from those within local communities, so it seems hard to define urban policy as concerning the welfare of local residents. Instead, a notable similarity between the case studies was the role of entrepreneurial business investment in new local regimes of accumulation. However, while this was common to both case studies, it fails to account for differences in urban policy between the locations. Consequently, when examining the influence of urban policy and its background, it is possible to start by saying that economic actors such as Brindleyplace plc and the Richardsons did not determine urban policy. The case studies show urban policy was a political entity, with economic objectives being one particular outcome and political ideology being the dynamic of change. From this perspective, it clearly concerned the management of change, though Pacione's definition needs to address the distinct political aims behind the management of urban change.

Arguing that urban policy was a political tool used to support certain varieties of capital accumulation, it can be recognised as a feature of the mode of regulation. As stated, there exists a hierarchy of regulation, illustrative of different realms of regulation. With this in mind, the case

studies show how political actors were the ones taking the lead in urban policy formation at both local and national levels. The fact that political actors took the lead in urban policy formation was a common factor in both case studies, with the distinction lying in the way actors operated at different spatial levels.

Looking to the case studies for evidence to support these claims, the major urban policies identified were the BSRA and the Enterprise Zones. The fact that both presented opportunities for the private sector was indicative of their objectives, with the driving forces behind these policies being political actors. Initially this supports the argument made in Chapter One that urban policy in relation to the redevelopments was a political phenomenon and formed part of the mode of regulation. Therefore, having argued that there existed a hierarchy of social regulation, the difference in urban policy formation was illustrative of this point. If urban policy was a site of social regulation, the fact that central and local government formulated urban policy highlighted different levels of social regulation. The significant difference between the case studies was therefore the actors involved.

As a starting point, the Conservative governments from 1979 provided a political context to redevelopment by, firstly, limiting local authorities' ability to raise and spend money and, secondly, developing policies that encouraged entrepreneurship. This illustrates the presence of an overarching, national level of social regulation. Similarly, the role of

political actors within the regions illustrated a local level of social regulation that was specific to local interests and identified a hierarchy of regulation, where national political actors set an overall context and local political actors related this to their specific 'needs'. Recognising this as a structural hierarchy, it was possible to locate the redevelopments within this structure and thereby identify differences. Relating this structure to the case studies, the BSRA emerged under the guidance of local urban policy by virtue of its design, planning, and major partners being local. Additionally, this was located within the context of national political objectives to give the private sector a greater control of the redevelopment process. In contrast, Merry Hill featured local economic actors in the Richardsons, but the Enterprise Zones were formulated by national political actors and marginalised the local authority.

Therefore, urban policy is an aspect of social regulation that occurs within a hierarchy of social regulation. Within this hierarchy, Merry Hill represented a combination of global economic change, local economic actors and strong elements of national social regulation. The BSRA was the same, except local actors more overtly influenced the mode of regulation. Differences lay in the fact that the Enterprise Zones not only drove a wedge between local actors, but also created conflict in the local authority by emphasising party divisions rather than the local focus evident in Birmingham City Council.

With this in mind, Chapter One argued that stability only comes about because of complementary accumulation and regulation. Added to this, the regime of accumulation has locally specific patterns, though obviously occurring within a broad context of issues highlighted by Hamilton (1984) in Chapter One. Likewise, the mode of regulation also retained a distinct local element, despite occurring within a broader national rather than global context. This meant that despite a framework of global and national factors, there were discernible local themes within accumulation and regulation. Hence, while it follows that stability on a local level is dependent on a complementarity of *local* accumulation and *local* regulation, the Enterprise Zones placed a barrier in the way of local complementarity and thus impeded local stability - evident in the way Merry Hill's expansion and consequential expansion of new forms of capital accumulation was limited. Overall, the objective of the Enterprise Zones appeared to be to assist local entrepreneurs and encourage a local enterprise culture. In doing so, they impeded the development of local stability.

6.3.2, Emerging regimes of accumulation: Linking global, national and local changes

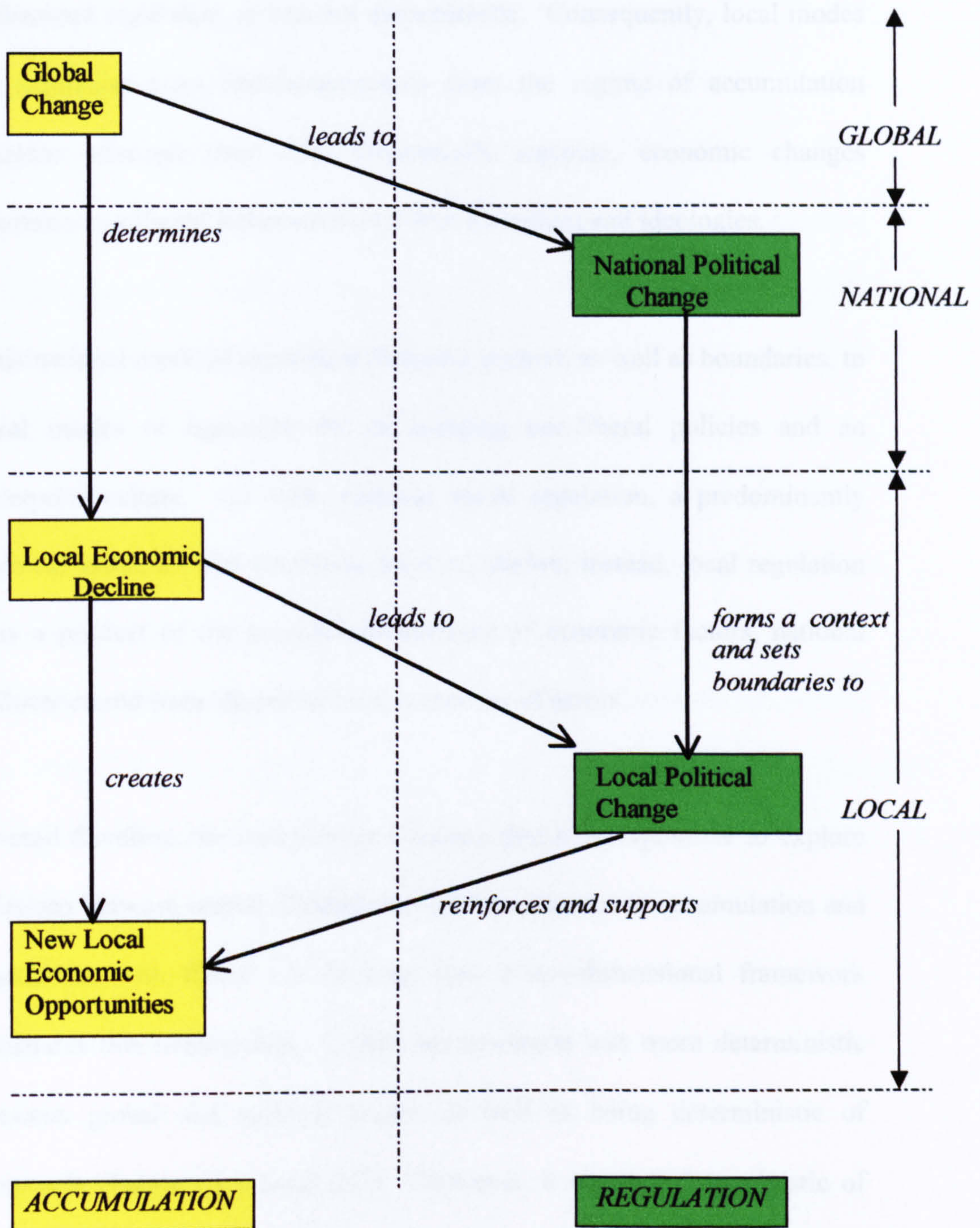
Having already linked global changes with the economy, and national changes with politics, the next task of this section is to synthesise these

issues by analysing the links between changes within the various spatial levels. This section progresses by assessing the claim the BSRA and Merry Hill underpinned the emergence of new local regimes of accumulation.

A starting point in recognising the root of economic and political changes, of which the BSRA and Merry Hill are illustrative, begins with global economic changes of the sort identified in Chapter One. Decline in local traditional economies experienced similarly in both case studies represented a local experience of global factors and showed how local economies are constitutive parts of a broader global economy. Figure 6.2 shows how the initial relationship between global and local economies involves global changes being experienced on the local stage.

In contrast, the relationship between the global economy and national politics is one of influence, with the economy influencing national politics, but being in no way deterministic. Global and national factors were common to both redevelopments and formed the basis to identify similarities. Highlighting a relationship between accumulation and regulation, global economic change underpinned local economic change because of its location within the same broad structure of accumulation.

Figure 6.2: The relationship between global, national and local changes within the context of accumulation and regulation.



However, urban policy and the influence of national politics formed part of the mode of regulation, demonstrating that while the regime of accumulation influenced regulation, it was not deterministic. Consequently, local modes of regulation were semi-autonomous from the regime of accumulation because although they were theoretically separate, economic changes exerted a significant influence over policy formation and ideologies.

This national mode of regulation formed a context, as well as boundaries, to local modes of regulation by encouraging neo-liberal policies and an enterprise culture. As such, national social regulation, a predominantly political issue, did not determine local regulation; instead, local regulation was a product of the complex interactions of economic factors, national influences and some degree of local autonomy of actors.

Overall therefore, the case studies illustrate that it is impossible to explore relations between spatial dimensions without reference to accumulation and regulation, with figure 6.2 showing how a two-dimensional framework illustrates this relationship. Capital accumulation was more deterministic between global and national levels, as well as being deterministic of economic change on a local level. However, it was not deterministic of local responses to economic decline, such as the decision to redevelop because these decisions were not solely economic, but also had a distinct political dimension within patterns of social regulation. Therefore, changes in capital accumulation did not determine social regulation, and so global

changes were not deterministic of national political shifts though they did form the basis for aims and objectives.

Furthermore, national social regulation was not deterministic of local social regulation because local political actors retained a relative autonomy from national actors. As such, while national social regulation created contexts and boundaries for local regulation, the local redevelopment processes were products of both accumulation and regulation and therefore were a complex relationship of global, national and local factors.

Fundamentally, global themes that influenced to the redevelopments were economic in character and formed a catalyst for redevelopment that was general to both cases. In contrast, national factors defined the general direction of the redevelopment process through neo-liberal objectives and entrepreneurial rhetoric - this was common to both redevelopments. Finally, local actors interacted with these influences to form redevelopment processes that contained both political and economic objectives, reflecting a variety of locally specific histories and agendas and, consequently, determined differences between the two redevelopments.

Implicit in the recognition of differences is the theme that a new regime of accumulation developed in Birmingham during the 1980s due to economic change and the regulatory response of local actors. Problematic, however, for claims that there was a clear-cut step from one economy (reliant on

production) to another (increasingly based on consumption) is the fact that there has always been a strong local service sector in Birmingham and Dudley. Additionally, there is still a strong manufacturing presence both in Birmingham and in Dudley Borough. Consequently, it is misleading to identify a leap from one economy to another and more realistic to consider how the internal balance of the local economies has changed. One question to arise, therefore, was how it is possible to claim that this is a new local regime of accumulation.

Initially, the case studies highlight a series of changes occurring within the regions. The most obvious was the emergence of high-profile redevelopments that did not feature or rely on industry and manufacturing. The fact that the redevelopments featured retail, leisure and office facilities indicated significant changes in the local economies. Additionally, there was a decline in manufacturing employment and increased levels of service sector employment as the BSRA and Merry Hill underpinned an expansion of part-time, casual employment that was in marked contrast to previous patterns. Despite being indicative of overall changes, without a theoretical overview this only amounts to a commentary on local events. The importance of the theory chapters was to provide a context in which to understand change and identify generalisable elements.

Referring back to Chapter One, a regime of accumulation was defined as ‘a particular combination of production and consumption’ (Jessop, 1990: 308)

and 'the economic relationship between investment, production and consumption' (Painter, 1995: 277). Consequently, there are two reasons why the redevelopments represented emerging local regimes of accumulation - firstly, because of the overall balance between production and consumption, and secondly, because of patterns of local investment.

Looking at the first factor, definitions of accumulation point to a long-term balance between production and consumption. Overall, there is a clear identification of how this underpins stability and how it has broken down since the late 1970s. Recognising both, the breakdown of traditional economies and the emergence of new patterns of capital accumulation need to be seen as a balance. Clearly, it is possible to identify different backgrounds to each process and, as such, it would be wrong to conflate the two processes. However, looking at the two patterns of capital accumulation in the case studies, what remains important was not their decline and emergence as discrete phenomena, but the overall regional economic balance that they underpinned. Traditionally, both regions featured a heavy reliance on manufacturing and industry, with traditional town centres supporting retail demands and underdeveloped office facilities. Since the 1980s, this balance has changed, with less reliance on manufacturing and the emergence of new service sector expansion being notable similarities between each of the case studies.

Therefore, each region featured a balance between production and consumption, and it is this notion of balance that needs drawing out of Jessop's and of Painter's work. Long-term stability reflected the enduring character of this balance, whilst crisis occurred when the balance was in flux. Consequently, this answers the question of how it is possible to claim a new local regime of accumulation is emerging. It is not because of new service redevelopments alone, but because of the implications this had for the overall balance of capital accumulation.

Theoretically, this identifies a continuum of capital accumulation, with industry/manufacturing at one extreme and service sector at the other. Usefully, this means there is no need to characterise the local regime of accumulation as being one or the other, but at some point on that continuum, which is illustrated in figure 6.3.

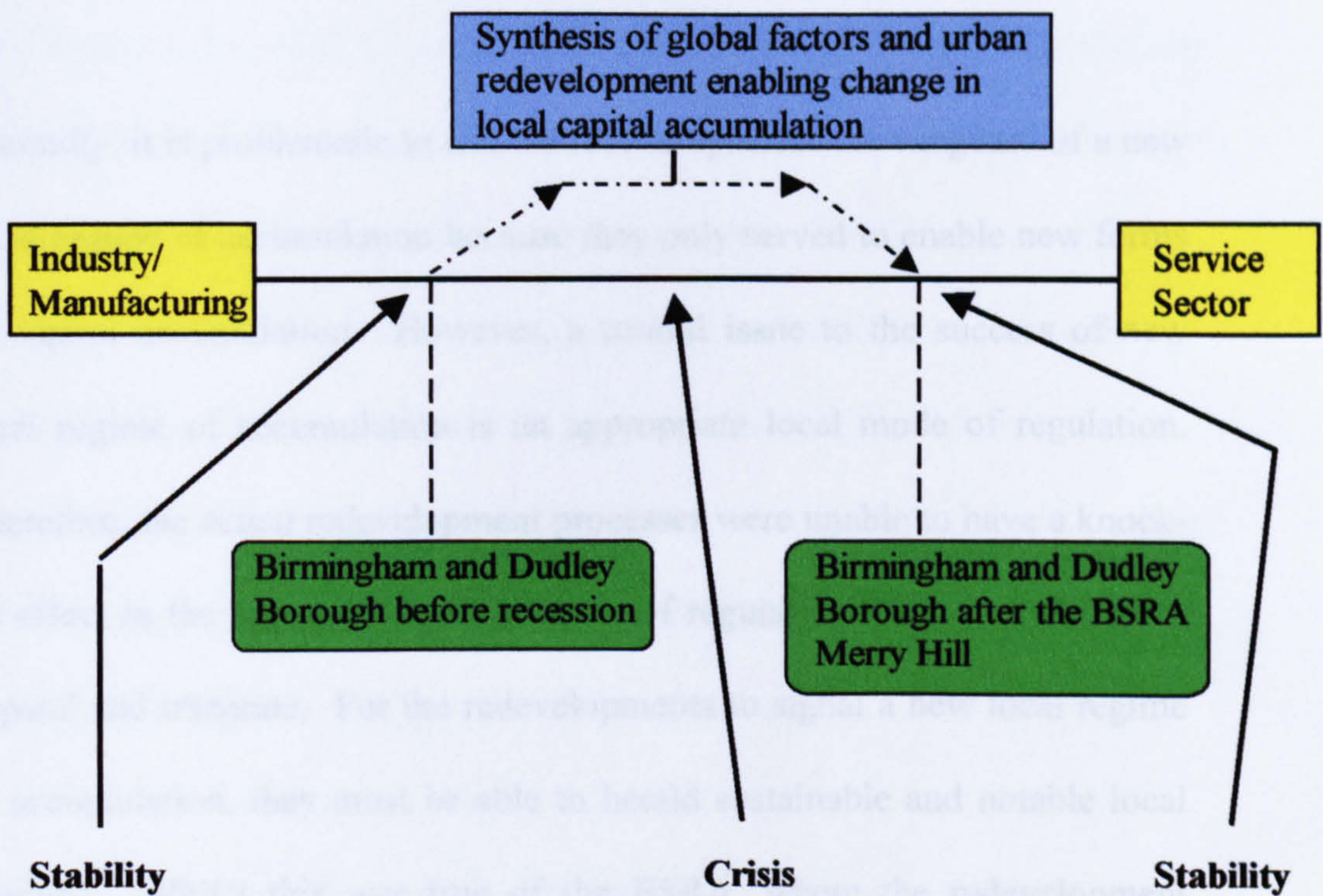
Overall, decline in traditional economies and expansion of the service sector locally, shifted regional economies along this continuum through a series of steps, though not from one extreme to the other. With the regime of accumulation being a balance between these dual forces, then relocation along the continuum was enough to claim that there was a new local regime of accumulation.

The second reason for claiming a new local regime of accumulation concerns the nature of local investment. Throughout the 1980s, there was

increased investment in local infrastructure that enabled new local regimes of accumulation. Featuring investment by companies such as Brindleyplace plc and Richardson developments, as well as local authority spending, central grants and even European assistance, the investment had a 'knock-on' effect within the local service sector. Merry Hill's development has led, eventually, to redevelopment and upgrading of Brierley Hill town centre. Similarly, the BSRA led to an increase in retail quality along nearby New Street and an expansion of leisure facilities surrounding the redevelopment area.

From evidence so far, the regional economies of Birmingham and Dudley have shifted along a continuum, from industry/manufacturing to an increased prominence for the service sector, raising the question of to what extent the redevelopments represent vanguards of new capital accumulation.

Figure 6.3: Accumulation Continuum: The shift in local capital accumulation.



Answering this question is, however, difficult. Initially, it was declining traditional economies that prompted movement along the accumulation continuum. This not only pre-dated urban redevelopment, but was also necessary as a catalyst for subsequent redevelopment strategies. Consequently, change came about from the decline of traditional economies; though, this only accounted for the first part of the shift along the accumulation continuum. Once this shift started, it acted as a catalyst for

local redevelopment strategies that perpetuated this shift. Hence, the first problem with identifying the redevelopments as vanguards of the new location of accumulation is that initial changes in accumulation occurred before the redevelopments.

Secondly, it is problematic to call the redevelopments the vanguard of a new local regime of accumulation because they only served to enable new forms of capital accumulation. However, a central issue to the success of new local regime of accumulation is an appropriate local mode of regulation. Therefore, the actual redevelopment processes were unable to have a knock-on effect in the region if the local mode of regulation limited its ability to expand and integrate. For the redevelopments to signal a new local regime of accumulation, they must be able to herald sustainable and notable local changes. Whilst this was true of the BSRA, where the redevelopment affected its immediate environment and encouraged further redevelopment and re-marketing, Merry Hill was largely isolated and abstract from the locality. As such, Merry Hill was not a vanguard of new capital accumulation, because changes were limited to the redevelopment alone.

With these two problems in mind, how is it possible to evaluate the BSRA and Merry Hill as vanguards of a new accumulation? The shift along the accumulation continuum can be broken down into three sections. Firstly, changes in the global economy affected localities through the decline of industry and manufacturing. Secondly, expansion of the service sector was

a consequence of these changes and continued the shift towards a new location for local capital accumulation. These two factors involved the local regime of accumulation, and were similar in both localities. The third factor concerns the local mode of regulation. Different regulatory patterns in the case studies determined the extent to which the redevelopments were able to integrate with surroundings, expand, and inspire further complementary redevelopments in the area. In other words, although the regime of accumulation initiated local change, the mode of regulation subsequently determined the extent of the shift. This is a point of difference between the redevelopments, with the case studies demonstrating different patterns of local regulation resulting in different abilities of local accumulation to develop and expand.

Returning to the initial question of whether the redevelopments represent a vanguard for a new local regime of accumulation, the answer appears to be no. This is because new patterns of capital accumulation were dependent on global economic change and local social regulation. However, the redevelopment process was essential in enabling new accumulation the infrastructure it needed and continuing the shift from industry to service.

In summary, an essential feature of this section was to assess the research objective that while global factors underpinned common ground between redevelopments, local factors determined differences. It was previously claimed that global economic factors are a catalyst for redevelopment, but

are not determinant, and therefore only served to start the redevelopment process. Furthermore, it is evident that both redevelopments occurred within distinct political environments that were common to both regions and manifest in the enterprise culture. With these issues originating from global and national levels, it is not surprising that they influenced both regions in similar ways. However, the case studies show that the redevelopments also featured distinct differences beyond the generic issues of moving from production to consumption or being part of an enterprise culture. Examining these differences, the case studies demonstrate that they resulted from local histories and the actions of local actors. In other words, factors that influenced only one redevelopment must be specific to that region.

6.4, 1993 - 2000: The increasing similarity in local responses

This final section examines the period covering 1993 to 2000. The major themes of this period are, firstly, the continued expansion of redevelopment in the Broad Street area. Secondly, and the reason for choosing 1993 as a starting point, the first realisation by Dudley MBC that Merry Hill was a method of expanding the local service sector and that this might be beneficial to the region.

Consequently, this section argues that from 1993 the two regions became increasingly similar as the Merry Hill case study shows an increasing

complementarity between local accumulation and local regulation, showing the region entering a period of stability similar to Birmingham.

Underpinning increased similarity between the two case studies was the development of co-operation between Dudley MBC and Merry Hill's owners, Chelsfield. Straight away, this highlights similarities around public-private partnerships as an influence in urban redevelopment. However, this also raises problems regarding how to understand such relations.

6.4.1, Regime formation: Converging economic and social regulation

Chapter Two defined an urban regime as a synthesis of local political and economic interests within local governance, and distinguished it from urban coalition theory's focus on economic growth and the centrality of business actors. Overall, Birmingham began to construct a local regime from 1984 with the development of the BSRA. The same did not happen in Dudley Borough until around 1996, although its roots were evident in 1993. During this final period, it is possible to compare the motivations of various actors for regime formation, with the private sector being perhaps the easiest to identify.

The decline of traditional economies provided a wealth of economic opportunities such as cheap labour, land, and grants, which, for the private sector, presented opportunities to explore new areas of capital accumulation, as defined by patterns of investment and production. Hence, the primary motive for the private sector to be involved in redevelopment was profit.

Although business actors played an important role in the regimes, they were by no means dominant. Looking at the BSRA, companies such as Brindleyplace plc, Novotel and Arena Central formed largely co-operative relationships with the City Council, based on a consensus and compromise that Lorna Wallace defined as a 'negotiated stance'. In Birmingham, the City Council made local businesses modify their objectives in line not just profits, but an overall plan for the city. However, in Dudley Borough, the freedom of local capital under the auspices of the Enterprise Zones meant that long-term issues such as urban planning and regional marketing were largely ignored, creating a situation whereby the redevelopment failed to integrate with existing infrastructure. During the Enterprise Zone years, the local authority was politically disempowered and local business actors the Richardson brothers operated in a laissez-faire manner. Political power over the redevelopment process during this time rested with central government, which for ideological reasons placed little restraint on the Richardsons' activities.

Arguably, therefore, the co-operative position of politics and business on a local level in Birmingham helped develop a complementarity of local regulation and accumulation, illustrated by similar redevelopment objectives within both the private and public sectors. Resulting in the development of an emergent local stability, this was notably missing in Dudley Borough during the Enterprise Zone years.

While private sector objectives were primarily profit-based, local authority motives were more complex. The redevelopment process presented a means to bring about political objectives such as marketing the city, developing the city's infrastructure and generally promoting economic activity. Overall, the regenerative element of local authority objectives is, at best, dubious, with little quantification of how local people would benefit from public funds being used to enable service sector expansion. Similarly, with local authorities gaining no intrinsic benefit from private sector profits, their interests were non-business orientated and, as such, there must be another motivation for local authority involvement in the redevelopment process. Consequently, it is problematic to claim that local authority objectives within the redevelopment process were driven by a goal of regenerating those areas and residents most affected by crisis. Without it being regenerative or profit based, it is concluded that their involvement is grounded on political legitimation, which they gained from images of a successful region.

Despite recognising a duality of private sector and public sector objectives, there were potential mutual benefits to the redevelopment process. Consequently, while economic success was the private sector's objective, it was a means to an end for the local authority as it enabled successful regional marketing. The fortunes of both sectors were largely reliant on one another. Economic success was limited without local authority support, as shown in the case of Merry Hill. Conversely, without the active involvement of local businesses, the redevelopment would not succeed and, consequently, not provide a basis to legitimate local political involvement.

Recognition of mutual interest was the motivation to form an urban regime, and the fact that both businesses and local authorities modified their ultimate objectives illustrated just how important these mutual benefits were to the regime members. For example, companies such as Chelsfield were prepared to donate money to traditionally public sector activities such as road building, whilst Birmingham City Council was prepared to grant money to traditionally private sector activities such as construction.

An important similarity between the regime at Birmingham and the emerging regime in Dudley Borough was the political rationale and focus on redevelopment as method of addressing local crisis. Birmingham City Council had a history of good relations with the private sector, notably within NEC Ltd and was prepared to accept the role of the private sector as a central player in planning. This was indicative of a certain political ideology

that embraced the notion of entrepreneurialism and the regenerative potential of the private sector. In contrast, Dudley MBC initially opposed the development of Merry Hill because of their stance on private sector control of planning and concerns over the social impact of the service sector. It was not until around 1993 that this position changed and support for Merry Hill began to formalise around potential benefits to the region. This political change was a necessary precursor to regime formation.

Clearly, both regions were similar in terms of private sector investment in new forms of accumulation, the difference concerning the local mode of regulation. Previously, this chapter argued that the case studies were differentiated by the BSRA being the basis for a new stability whilst Merry Hill and Dudley Borough continued in crisis. The definition for crisis was that economic stability did not come about because regulation and accumulation were not complementary and, in this position, the emerging local regime of accumulation was unable to expand and develop. The formation of local regimes was a means of overcoming regulatory problems and was a component of local regulation, formed in order to complement a mutually identified, specific position on the accumulation continuum. The defining difference between this period and the previous period was the nature of regulation.

So far, this section has considered the argument that an alliance of local actors supporting local capital accumulation constitutes a regime. The case

study evidence supports many of the main arguments concerning the role of regimes, as a site of social regulation that co-ordinated the objectives of local actors in support of local accumulation. This assumes that the various actors involved in the regime had different objectives for the redevelopment as a method of developing a new local regime of accumulation. Implicit in this is the notion that there existed a variety of agendas to the redevelopment process, as the redevelopment not only underpinned accumulation, but also served as a method of regulation.

6.4.2, Regime formation and community exclusion

The chapter proceeds by addressing the third research objective from Chapter Three. This was to investigate how the omission of certain interests from local governance, such as local communities, was as important in analysing redevelopment objectives as those interests that were directly represented, such as business and local authorities.

While there is a substantial amount of literature examining the make-up and objectives of regimes, few examine the concept of exclusion in relation to regimes. Contemporary literature has examined the influence of members of regimes, but there has been little examination of the negative impact of exclusion from the regime. In light of this position, the chapter continues by arguing that regime objectives regarding redevelopment are not only

influenced by those involved in the regime, but also by the absence of those excluded.

The regimes in Birmingham and Dudley comprised of a mixture of local authority and local business actors. Arguably, the regimes acted as a form of communication between these parties and a method of co-ordinating and compromising demands. Implicit in this was the presence of conflict regarding the direction of development, especially how it was regulated, what facilities it provided, how it was marketed, and its overall aims. This level of conflict receives little attention in much of the literature, though an even greater omission from the literature is the role of local communities.

Working on the idea that, firstly, the regime was a method of achieving compromise in the face of conflict, and secondly, that the regime formulated and co-ordinated aims and objectives, then it is to be expected that the regime would reflect the interests of those involved, i.e., local political and economic interests. However, Chapter Three identified the presence of three distinct local structures, demonstrating that community involvement was missing from the regimes. Hence, although studies of regime formation examine those who are involved, there is a need to take a broader view of the process. Acknowledging the centrality of conflict, this chapter argues that those groups omitted from the regimes are as significant as those included. Therefore, the exclusion of community interests, needs and

objectives from the redevelopment process allowed the private sector and local authorities to push forward their own aims and objectives.

Chapter Two (section 2.4) identified two distinct strands of literature covering this argument. On one hand, there is the theorisation and study of urban regimes, while on the other hand there is a wealth of community studies examining changes in communities and experiences of urban change such as redevelopment. Unfortunately, the two do not tend to overlap, often using different theoretical standpoints and methodologies. The case studies, by integrating evidence from communities and from urban regimes, allow a synthesis of both sets of evidence within a uniform methodology. Consequently, a major question for this research is, having identified the nature of regime formation as influential over the redevelopment process, what is the effect of community interests being absent.

Arguably, those involved in regime formation overlooked the interests of local communities, supporting the view that regimes are a synthesis of political and economic interests. Consequently, the omission of community objectives is as a valid a measure of urban regimes as those objectives that are included. The responses of those interviewed from local communities demonstrated a feeling of alienation, though the exact nature of alienation was initially hard to define. Many of the respondents were vague when defining alienation and exclusion, possibly because of its seemingly abstract nature. This was initially problematic for the research because many people

surrounding Merry Hill felt alienated from the development, yet there was strong local patronage of the centre. Conversely, local people in Ladywood also felt alienated from the BSRA but did not use the facilities. Compounding these feelings of alienation and exclusion was a financial issue, many people from Ladywood said they could not afford the facilities in the BSRA, while local people could afford to use Merry Hill.

The research therefore had to find a framework for understanding alienation and exclusion expressed by local interviewees. Not only does this provide a means of comparing the redevelopments, it also quantifies the concepts of alienation and exclusion. Currently, they are relatively abstract phenomena, based on subjective experiences and little recognition of what people are alienated or excluded from or how this develops.

With this problem in mind, and looking through the evidence, people were either alienated or excluded from the redevelopment for two separate reasons, those being economic and political. Additionally, exclusion and alienation represented two distinct influences on local communities in relation to the redevelopments. Within this research, exclusion represented the presence of tangible barriers, whilst alienation represented an interpretation of the relationship between community and the redevelopment process.

Expanding this distinction, the omission of community interests and formal community input into regime formation meant many people in the local communities felt alienated from the redevelopment process and, consequently, the actual redevelopments. Alienation of this kind was common to both redevelopments, while exclusion, based on financial issues identified a difference between the redevelopments. Despite feelings of alienation, local people still used Merry Hill and felt it was accessible, while in contrast, many of the facilities contained in the BSRA were beyond the financial means of those living nearby. At this point, it is important to remember local authorities and, to a lesser extent, businesses justified the redevelopments as a method of regional regeneration after a period of crisis. If this is the case, those areas with the worst deprivation should experience at least some benefit.

The BSRA featured a high degree of economic exclusion, as well as alienation of local people from the planning process. The Merry Hill redevelopment also featured a high degree of alienation of local people from the planning process, but a lower level of economic exclusion. With the advent of Greater Brierley Hill, which will incorporate existing facilities, there is decreased exclusion and alienation, illustrating how alienation is a common theme, whilst levels of exclusion vary.

Overall, alienation was the result of political activity, whilst exclusion was an economic phenomenon, thus reinforcing the idea that the redevelopment

of Broad Street was a prestige project, whilst Merry Hill was oriented towards local people.

Place marketing is another method of gauging the relationship between the redevelopments and local communities. The marketing of Birmingham by organisations such as Birmingham City Council, Birmingham City 2000 and Birmingham Marketing Partnership illustrates the complementary relationship between accumulation and regulation. Regarding the BSRA, the success of local accumulation formed the basis for marketing, with marketing itself being an aspect of local regulation. Likewise, the marketing process supported the specific types of capital accumulation present in the BSRA.

An example of this was the information packs sent out by Brindleyplace plc to prospective clients, which, in outlining the potential for the development, highlighted certain attractions within the city. Other marketing initiatives have emphasised business tourism, the increased profile of art in the city and Birmingham's increasingly cosmopolitan culture. Likewise, Merry Hill was marketed as part of local communities through frequent references made by the Richardsons to their local roots and advertising aimed at local shoppers. Unlike Birmingham, marketing has been much more localised in order to attract local people.

Fretter (1993) develops this to show how localities adapt to meet the needs of customers, whilst these customers are notably different between the two redevelopments. Although Merry Hill attracted local people within the Black Country, Broad Street attracted people from outside the city. Chapters Four and Five support this claim, showing that 87% of Merry Hill's visitors were local whilst only 22.4% of ICC/NIA/Symphony Hall visitors were from Birmingham. The nature of advertising played a large part in creating these figures, with Merry Hill advertised on local billboards and in local newspapers. In contrast, Birmingham used nation-wide and even international accessibility as a selling point, with nearby airport and motorways acting as marketing features to attract people.

Similarly, people portrayed in the adverts illustrated the character of the redevelopments. Whilst many of Merry Hill's adverts featured people wearing casual clothing, many of Broad Street's featured people in suits and business clothes. Finally, Merry Hill marketed a product, i.e. retail, which is replicated in many other parts of the country through out-of-town complexes or large city centres, leading to the centre's attraction largely being limited to local people. However, the combination of conferencing, a venue such as the NIA and exclusive nightlife is not so common within the UK, meaning that the BSRA had the ability to attract customers from all over the UK as well as abroad. The impact of this on the relationship between the redevelopment and local people was to create a clear demarcation between

local people and the development of Broad Street, a feature not evident at Merry Hill.

A further aspect of place marketing is Fretter's claim that marketing is not carried out solely by the public sector. This is the case within this thesis; though this is developed to show how the participants of local place marketing identified those who have an interest in the process. The partnership present in the redevelopment of Broad Street reflected the marketing process carried out by public-private partnerships.

In summary, an objective of the research was to investigate how those excluded from regimes might be important when examining regime objectives concerning redevelopment. In light of the case study evidence, the exclusion of a formal input by local communities into regimes influenced the regulation of the redevelopment process in terms of marketing, economic, and social objectives.

6.4.3, Redevelopment as an attempt to regain local stability

Up to this point, Chapter Six has examined redevelopments as a response to economic decline that was formulated in the context of economic and political regulation. The final part of this chapter places the redevelopments

in a historical context of stability and crisis using theorisations of Fordism from Chapter One.

A combination of declining traditional economies and local redevelopment underpinned a shift along the accumulation continuum. This new balance of production and consumption coupled with distinct changes in employment constituted a challenge to traditional definitions of the regions being Fordist. Chapter One defined Fordism as specific period of balance between accumulation and regulation, which was disrupted by global economic change. Arguably, the redevelopments formed part of a newly developing period of stability and characterised by a period of balance between accumulation and regulation. This thesis defines this new period of stability as post-Fordism.

Debates around post-Fordism tend to identify crisis stemming from local experiences of global economic change. Firstly, this is too economic in its analysis, and secondly, it ignores the ability of capitalism to restabilise. The case studies show that decline in traditional economies went beyond economic factors and patterns of work, also having social and political repercussions. The case studies thereby illustrate how in the wake of local crises, local actors formulated strategies to overcome crisis based not only on new patterns of capital accumulation, but also new modes of regulation - of which redevelopment strategies were one aspect. Significantly, to define post-Fordism only in terms of crisis would ignore the nature of responses

originating from the crisis itself, and therefore ignores the 'wider picture'. As such, and in relation to this thesis, post-Fordism covers the process of both experiences of crisis *and* subsequent attempts to regain stability. Consequently, the redevelopments illustrated a specific period of accumulation and regulation that is both post-Fordist and increasingly stable.

Furthermore, the concept of Fordism describes a particular temporal and spatial instance of long-term stability understood as the continuity of structural relations and highlights historical similarities between the two regions. Subsequently, crisis was the breakdown of stability, brought about through political and economic challenges of the 1970s and 1980s and, importantly, defines disruption to the balance of accumulation and regulation. The redevelopments were notable, sociologically, because they were not only products of this crisis, but also because they were attempts to regain stability through enabling new forms of accumulation and illustrated new forms of social regulation. Theorising challenges of Fordist stability experienced within the regions, crisis therefore defines a lack of common direction between the mode of regulation and the regime of accumulation.

Post-Fordism analyses the consequences of these crises, and must therefore include attempts by economic and political actors to construct a new stability by re-matching the mode of regulation and the regime of accumulation. Clearly, there are problematic themes within this, especially

concerning whether post-Fordism represents attempts to gain stability or the resultant period of stability.

Attempting to re-match regulation and accumulation, the regime of accumulation was largely beyond the control of local actors. This was evident in Dudley MBC's failed attempts to regenerate the industrial economy in the Borough during the early 1980s through their support for the Enterprise Zones. Subsequently, local change through the redevelopment process represented the management of local structural relations from a political perspective.

The redevelopment process therefore helped regain a local, post-Fordist stability for two main reasons. Firstly, it redefined relations between the local authority and the business community, as well as the local authority and local communities. Secondly, it diversified the local economy by tapping into global changes in the regime of accumulation characterised by the expansion of the service sector in many advanced economies.

Consequently, the redevelopments were an attempt to regain local stability, though not the only method. The major difference between the two periods of stability was the specific nature of accumulation and regulation, raising the final question of how the redevelopment process represented an attempt to regain stability.

Evidence from the case study shows that the BSRA was an important component in achieving a hegemonic bloc that, referring to Chapter One, occurred when accumulation and regulation operated in a complementary manner. In a local context, this meant that rather than trying to control capital accumulation, the City Council and private sector investors worked towards a local mode of social regulation that supported and enabled the growth of specific forms of capital accumulation. This capital accumulation characterised by high levels of investment in infrastructure, enabled service sector expansion by including increased provision of retail, leisure and what is euphemistically termed 'business tourism'.

New patterns of accumulation were therefore based on firstly, investment in infrastructure, and secondly, the individual spending power of visitors to the city centre. Regulation was the construction of socio-political relations that enabled sustained production within this regime of accumulation. Hence, public money to subsidise construction, new imagery to attract visitors, investment in retraining facilities, and public-private co-operation ensured the ability of this regime of accumulation to expand. Identifying new patterns of capital accumulation rooted in the service sector, the redevelopment process was an aspect of social regulation by supporting such accumulation. Therefore, the redevelopment process was an indication of how social regulation changed to support new patterns of capital accumulation and, thus, represented the establishment of a new hegemonic structure.

In contrast to the BSRA, the development of Merry Hill and associated public-private relations painted an altogether different picture. Faced with a similar decline in traditional economies, the redevelopment also enabled expansion of the service sector as a new form of capital accumulation. Implicit in this was a similar regime of accumulation to Birmingham, based on increased investment in construction and a reliance on visitor's spending power. This was in notable contrast to the export based accumulation of, for example, Round Oak. However, the private sector carried out the development of Merry Hill, marginalising the local authority. Evidently, from the case studies, there was a degree of public sector support in the form of European Union and national government grants, though this cannot be defined as a partnership in the same way as the redevelopment of Broad Street. Instead, the Richardson brothers had a relatively free hand regarding the planning and content of Merry Hill, in marked contrast to Birmingham, where the City Council had a clear idea of how the redevelopment would form a 'festival market place'.

As such, whilst the Richardson brothers were constructing Merry Hill, Dudley MBC was steadfast in their support for the Enterprise Zones as a basis for local industrial regeneration. Lack of localised consensus meant, firstly, that they would not support the Richardson brothers in their plans for Merry Hill. Secondly, the influence of national urban policy in the form of the Enterprise Zones meant that the Richardsons did not need to form a local

governance regime because they did not need the local authority's power over planning. Consequently, for a period from the mid-1980s until the first half of the 1990s, the local authority and the Richardsons as major local investors did not work towards similar aims and objectives.

The upshot of that was that whilst new forms of accumulation became established, the local mode of regulation was limited by conflict and, hence, Merry Hill was poorly integrated into the region, under-marketed and eventually unable to expand. This led to a position where local capital accumulation became stifled and unable to develop. In contrast, the co-operative stance taken between Dudley MBC and Chelsfield set in place a local mode of regulation that allowed Merry Hill to expand, integrate with surrounding facilities, access further grants, and plan for training academy that will help regulate the local labour market.

Overall, Merry Hill and the BSRA represented new patterns of capital accumulation, which to underpin stability relied on a process of social regulation that enabled it to expand, emphasising how consensus between political and economic actors was essential in establishing local stability. Additionally, this highlighted how stability was gained (or re-gained) through a complementary match between regulation and accumulation. The redevelopments were specific local strategies for achieving this, though without public-private consensus it was largely unsustainable. Therefore, the redevelopments attempted to regain local stability, but only when they

formed part of a local hegemonic structure, because stability required a long-term balance of accumulation and regulation.

This brings this section back to the question that if both regions experienced post-Fordism, with the subsequent emergence of stability does post-Fordism only refer to the period of crisis. If this were to be the case, it would ignore the ability of capitalism to coalesce and restabilise within a political economy. Through the redevelopment process, this coalescing and restabilisation was evident. As such, post-Fordism should refer not just to a period of crisis, but also to a process of crisis and subsequent restabilisation.

In summary, the redevelopment process illustrated attempts to regain local stability by enabling a new local regime of accumulation. Importantly for the issue of stability, this was complemented by a local mode of regulation including aspects raised in Chapter Two. In the wake of economic and social crisis, it would be wrong to presume that the urban redevelopments were the only means by which local actors courted stability, though it does represent a significant factor.

6.5, *Summary*

To summarise this chapter, the redevelopments were a response to the way global economic changes manifested on the local stage. Consequently, redevelopment strategies illustrated new patterns of social regulation that enabled changes in the local regime of accumulation.

The identification of three time-periods forms a basis to compare the two redevelopments. Up to 1984, both regions were similar in terms of being heavily reliant on traditional economies. With the emergence of local crises, the nature of subsequent local responses differentiated the two sites as the public-private partnership in Birmingham contrasted with public-private conflict in Dudley Borough. Finally, as partnership began to emerge in Dudley Borough from around 1993, the two regions started to become increasingly similar. Despite such similarities however, the exact format and contents of the redevelopments remain locally specific.

Having recognised these three time-periods, this chapter also addresses the research objectives identified in Chapter Three:

Firstly, global economic factors such as the global relocation of industry and manufacturing led to the decline of those economies upon which Birmingham and Dudley Borough were particularly reliant. Most noticeable in the first time-period from the late 1970s and into the early 1980s, ensuing

local experiences of crisis were the catalyst that led to redevelopment strategies.

Secondly, these global factors were common to both Birmingham and Dudley Borough, consequently leading to similar experiences of economic decline. However, this was important only as a catalyst to redevelopment strategies, and did not determine the exact nature of those strategies. Instead, locally specific factors such as relations between local actors and local histories determined the format and nature of the individual redevelopments during the period after 1984.

Thirdly, the examination of local responses identifies the dominance of economic and political actors within redevelopment processes. Consequently, in the two time-periods after 1984, economic and political actors determined the aims and objectives of the redevelopments. This has been at the expense of a formal community input.

Finally, locating the redevelopments within cycles of stability and crisis, the first time-period represents the end of stability, with crisis emerging at the start of the following time-period. The redevelopment processes were attempts to regain stability by enabling new regimes of accumulation to develop and new modes of regulation to prosper. The main difference between the two sites was their relative timescales, with Birmingham being more prepared to embrace sweeping changes.

Chapter Seven

Conclusions

7.1, Introduction

The central focus of this thesis has been the manner in which local actors formulated responses to influences originating outside the localities, leading to an argument that global and national factors underpinned common ground between the two redevelopments while local issues shaped the differences. To explore this argument, the introductory chapter began by stating the central aims of the thesis as, firstly, to examine how localities experienced global and national changes, and secondly, to map how local actors formulated subsequent responses.

Using case studies to typify changes in traditional manufacturing and industrial economies, these aims were analysed in relation to two urban redevelopments in the West Midlands. Central to the development of this thesis was therefore the examination of literature pertaining to issues such as stability and crisis, Fordism and post-Fordism, local governance, as well as the relationship between the economy and politics.

This chapter identifies conclusions and states how the research adds to current knowledge. This chapter consequently identifies five substantive conclusions before moving on to state how the research adds to the body of knowledge examined in

Chapters One and Two. Subsequently, there is an identification of potential further research, thus locating this thesis within the context of ongoing research. Finally, there are concluding remarks.

7.2, Conclusions

The first section of this chapter identifies five significant conclusions from the research concerning local differences, the diversity of regulation and accumulation, economic agendas and political interests, communities, alienation and exclusion, and finally, defining emergent stability.

7.2.1, Local differences

Based on case study evidence, the thesis maps out local experiences of the social, economic and political changes identified Chapters One and Two. The understanding of these changes was developed by framing them within the context of specific redevelopment strategies in Birmingham and Dudley Borough. Importantly, this links the process of local redevelopment to a diverse configuration of political and economic factors and the way in which they combine to produce stability. In doing so, the thesis concludes that local actors mediated potential conflicts by constructing alliances and that the redevelopments are a significant method of studying how local structures relate to one another.

Identifying specific spatial dimensions within regulation, the broad national mode of regulation can only be generalised to an extent, with it being important to recognise local variations of regulation. Consequently, this research concludes that while both redevelopments developed within an environment of similar economic and political influences, their exact outcomes resulted from locally specific responses to these broad influences.

Having compared and contrasted the redevelopments in Chapter Six by developing analyses of regulation and accumulation to feature a more overtly spatial component, it is also evident that this links to temporal dimensions of stability and crisis. With this in mind, debates in Chapter One enable the case studies to identify periods of stability and crisis that could be generalised on a national (and even global) level. With this in mind, another important conclusion is that the localities varied in the timetable of stability and crisis, showing how crises within accumulation and crises within regulation can be examined individually as well as part of a broader political economy. Importantly, this shows how local modes of regulation, whilst obviously being influenced by issues of accumulation, contained distinct methods of development that can be rationalised separately from economic concerns.

7.2.2, *A diversity of regulation and accumulation*

Highlighting an interplay of structures and agents, the thesis shows awareness by many local actors that they were unable to formulate strategies to regenerate traditional economies, whilst simultaneously finding their activities bounded by new political ideologies. This thesis thereby concludes that urban redevelopment strategies illustrate significant economic and political restructuring within the 'post-industrial' West Midlands during the 1980s and 1990s. Whilst large institutions and structures such as local governance carried out restructuring operations, there is recognition of the role played by specific agents.

Bearing this political and economic climate in mind, a further conclusion of this research is that the BSRA and Merry Hill played significant roles in the dynamics of local accumulation portfolios. However, the redevelopment processes formed only one aspect of this change and, therefore, social regulation is formulated within many institutions and in response to various events. As such, this thesis concludes that social regulation is far from a static set of policies and practices that relate to the whole region in a specific manner. Instead, regulation is a dynamic phenomenon characterised by temporal *and* spatial variations.

Drawing conclusions from this issue of generalisation, political changes following economic decline influenced the way in which local accumulation portfolios have developed. Identifying portfolios of local accumulation containing discrete

accumulation strategies challenges the notion that Birmingham and the Black Country experienced a homogeneous move from production to consumption.

Consequently, the research rejects the concept of a specific local regime of accumulation by identifying local portfolios of distinct and varied patterns of investment and methods of achieving economic stability. Therefore, a further conclusion is that the redevelopment processes studied in this thesis were, firstly, responses to decline in previously dominant aspects of that portfolio and, secondly, ways of expanding other, more viable aspects of the portfolio; consequently shifting the balance between production and consumption.

7.2.3, Economic interests and political agendas

Local redevelopment strategies are important aspects of local economic development, with this being a major justification by local authorities for public spending. As such, despite the logic of commercial strategies initially seeming to determine accumulation portfolios, the research reveals how distinct political agendas operated within the redevelopment processes and were characterised by a rationale quite separate from that used by business actors. This is an important conclusion of the research because it actively refutes any idea that the redevelopments were determined solely by economic/commercial concerns. Even in the case of Merry Hill, where the local authority was marginalized from the redevelopment process, the Richardson brothers

were still influenced by dominant political logic, albeit more directly from central government.

Consequently, this thesis concludes that the redevelopment process embodies a duality of political and economic factors, both being potentially conflicting or mutually supportive, and that the nature of relations within this duality underpins issues around stability and crisis. The Dudley case study in particular shows that without regulation and accumulation being broadly complementary, the developing aspects of capital accumulation were limited in their ability to expand and effect further changes within the regions.

The research therefore shows that political actors have played a significant role within the redevelopment processes despite not having any obvious commercial interests. Detailing their interests in what, on the surface, appears to be business ventures, it is concluded that the redevelopment processes were particular aspects of attempts to regain or recreate a local stability that feature syntheses of political and economic objectives.

Therefore, the thesis concludes that a new period of stability, defined in Chapter One as a hegemonic structure, was unable to emerge until there was political support for local changes in accumulation. This political support was contained within the mode of regulation, which, after the demise of Fordism has become increasingly shaped by local actors. As such, the redevelopment strategies exemplify how social regulation has become increasingly localised over the last twenty years. Importantly however, this thesis also shows that social regulation needs to be examined not as a series

policies and practices, but in terms of the political ideologies that underpinned and informed these policies and practices. Consequently, this thesis shows how a major driving force for new patterns of social regulation was the ideology of entrepreneurialism and the development of an enterprise culture. The speed at which the two local authorities adopted such a position defines temporal differences between the two redevelopments.

Concluding from this, stability is determined neither by political ideology nor by specific patterns of capital accumulation, but through a synthesis of politics and economy. Local governance regimes hence embody this synthesis and define stability as a locally specific concept that identifies the relative autonomy of local actors. With this in mind, the redevelopment processes in Birmingham and Dudley Borough were the products of complex syntheses – with this complexity being the root of differences. However, a synthesis of economic and political objectives cannot come about until there has been a process of local political restructuring, leading to the conclusion that while changes in regimes of accumulation were the dynamic of change, it was the subsequent changes in local modes of regulation that secured stability.

7.2.4, Communities, alienation and exclusion

The redevelopments have largely failed to address community experiences of crisis, such as the decline of the social facilities and networks that formed a link between

local communities and economic development. As such, while the redevelopments encouraged both commercial success and political legitimation, they failed to prioritise an agenda of social regeneration. With this in mind, the research shows that feelings of alienation can be differentiated from the more tangible experiences of exclusion – both of which concepts are notably missing from debates surrounding regulation and regimes.

The research concludes that certain local communities were excluded from the redevelopments because of the regimes' conceptualisation of local stability concerning economic and political objectives. Such a position situates urban regimes at the heart of local social regulation and illustrates how alienation and exclusion were noteworthy outcomes of place marketing, economic planning, political restructuring, and employment patterns. Concluding that there was a general feeling of alienation in both Birmingham and Dudley Borough, exclusion defined a difference between the BSRA's success based on visitors' spending power rather than Merry Hill's reliance on local patronage and the need to include local people.

Having previously identified diversity within experiences of crisis, the thesis goes on to conclude that the BSRA and Merry Hill have not 'single-handedly' created new periods of local stability. Instead, political and economic restructuring, relations between local actors, as well as new balances in accumulation portfolios together have contributed to an environment where a new stability has begun to emerge, as defined by the long-term continuity of both local structural relations and the objectives of these individual structures.

Therefore, by recognising social, political *and* economic dimensions to crisis, it is evident that decline of the West Midlands' traditional economies was not by itself synonymous with crisis, although the economy was the dynamic of change. Instead, by defining stability and crisis in terms of the relationship between accumulation and regulation, the BSRA and Merry Hill are methods of regaining stability by virtue of addressing this configuration of social, political *and* economic issues. Hence, a further conclusion of the research is that economic decline was a catalyst for redevelopment because of the way it initiated local experiences of crisis, though the economy was not the sole site of crisis.

Developing definitions of crisis beyond economic boundaries, communities experienced crisis directly through job losses and indirectly through social networks and facilities. Linking this to the earlier claim that the redevelopments were a focus for social, economic and political forces, the redevelopments can be understood as a potential barrier and thereby a source of exclusion. Therefore, it is necessary to go beyond identifying the redevelopments as a source of economic regeneration by also examining their impact and potential for social regeneration. Problematically in this context, the move to reinvent Birmingham from rust belt to business-tourism meant that social regeneration was heavily influenced by a political agenda of changing the city's image – place marketing being a component of social regulation aimed at supporting a particular type of economy. From this it can be concluded that social regeneration was selective in terms of who benefited and illustrated the nature of exclusion.

7.2.5, Defining emergent stability

Returning to Pacione's (1997b) comments regarding the emergence of urban policies aimed at wealth creation rather than wealth distribution, this research has sought to address the question of whether wealth creation and equity regarding its distribution are defining qualities of stability. The research argues that local stability is not reliant on degrees of local prosperity, with an emerging stability present despite the case studies identifying pockets of stubborn unemployment and some urban areas featuring significant levels of persistent deprivation. A conclusion of this research is, therefore, that stability needs defining as a concept in its own right rather than in terms of indicators associated with a previous form of stability. Therefore, whilst full employment was a characteristic of the previous '30 glorious years' (Boyer, 1990) of stability, it does not mean that full employment is anything more than an outcome of that particular configuration of political ideologies and economic objectives. Consequently, the defining elements of stability are not the presence of full employment or relative regional prosperity. Instead, it is the character of political economy that defines stability and, as such, the basis of stability during the '30 glorious years' rested with the congruence of economic policies and political ideology – the outcomes of which included full employment and relative regional prosperity.

Here lies the crux of the problem that this research has approached. If stability is only defined in terms of outcomes and indicators such as employment and prosperity, then there cannot be stability again until we can call such times 'glorious' because of evident prosperity and full employment. Developing this position, the research argues

that there is an emerging period of stability evident within the contemporary political economies studied, marked by the emerging congruence of economic objectives and political ideologies. The two redevelopments are excellent examples of how a 'hegemonic bloc' (Esser and Hirsch, 1989; Lipietz, 1994) develops as a response to crisis and with an objective of stability. Importantly, regenerating local communities and tackling long-term issues of exclusion and alienation are not features of this emerging stability despite the issue of regeneration being identified as a target for redevelopment strategies. Therefore, the redevelopment process lies at the heart of understanding stability because it exemplifies how economic objectives and political ideologies have formed a dialectic resulting in an emerging stability.

The exclusion of community interests from this process illustrates how regeneration was not a priority as well as highlighting a gap in analyses of political economy regarding the involvement of local communities. Furthermore, it is fair to argue that local authority spending on redevelopments and marketing are only small proportions of their total expenditure. However, these levels of spending on the redevelopments, the millions spent on marketing, the redirection of funds earmarked for education, and the use of profits from the NEC all signal intent and are indicators of the nature of political ideology. It also needs to be remembered that this is only emerging stability and much of local authority expenditure is already committed on refuse collection, libraries, road repairs, etc.

In conclusion, what Chapter Two defined as neo-liberalism (Paddison, 1997) has proved to be more permanent than envisaged by some theorists who reject links between stability and what can generically be termed post-Fordism (Tickell and Peck,

1995; Peck and Tickell, 1994; Esser and Hirsch, 1989). Evidence of stability lies in the development of (albeit emerging) congruence between political and economic factors with the redevelopments' success and expansion highlighting the presence of sustainability – an issue identified in Chapter One as being important in defining regulation and accumulation. Interestingly, the explicit features of this stability are significantly different from the previous Fordist period; the thesis identifies heightened inter-urban competition, loss of regional prosperity and more clearly identifiable winners and losers.

There is very little analysis of stability within regulation theory other than in relation to the 'glorious years' associated with Fordism. Instead, there is continued research examining the emergence and entrenchment of crisis that uses indicators associated with Fordist stability to argue that we are still in the midst of crisis. What is needed now is the next step of asking how the cyclical nature of political economy might move on to the next stage of an emerging stability.

A key rationale of the work of early regulation theorists such as Aglietta (1979; 1988) was to uncover not just the nature of crisis within capitalism, but to examine how capitalism is able to re-stabilise and re-coalesce - this emphasises the need for stability within a cyclical/temporal framework. Developing this rationale in an updated context, the research in this thesis examines the tentative moves from crisis to a new period of stability, identified within the thesis as being post-Fordist stability.

Continuing to apply these conclusions to regulation theory, the thesis identifies how, broadly, the compatibility of regulation and accumulation defines stability.

Problematically, analyses of crisis within regulation theory have failed to locate crisis within a cyclical development of political economy and, thus, link it to a complementary analysis of stability. There have been some attempts to define stability, with Lipietz (1994) identifying the concept of a 'social bloc' whilst Esser and Hirsch (1989) identify a 'hegemonic bloc' that implies some notion of popular support. However, such attempts to conceptualise stability within a regulationist position still fail to locate such theorisations within a broad cyclical analysis of political economy.

Awareness of the temporal nature of political economy within this thesis means that the redevelopment process exemplifies theorisations of crisis. An understanding of the cyclical nature of political economy means that the thesis develops understandings of how stability emerges in response to crisis, with the thesis further mapping out a relationship between the two concepts. Significantly, this is a starting point in recognising the dynamic nature of political economy, identifying not only crisis, but also management of crisis and attempts to restabilise. This means that while definitions of stability provided by Jessop and Esser and Hirsch are useful as starting points, they imply a binary opposition between stability and crisis by defining the two concepts as opposites. This thesis develops such a position by showing that in a cyclical political economy there is a gradual emergence and subsequent entrenchment of crisis followed by the formulation of responses and eventual emergence of stability. Therefore, far from arguing that there are states of either stability *or* crisis, the thesis clearly identifies the entrenchment of crisis and the emergence of stability.

A key feature in the understanding of this relationship between crisis and emerging stability is not only the sustainability of neo-liberalism, but also the spatial analysis of political economy within the framework of regulation theory. Demonstrating the importance of analysing not just a generalised mode of regulation, but instead spatially and hierarchically discrete modes of regulation, demarcated by the realms of influence of political actors, the thesis shows how emerging stability is spatially specific. In a climate of increased inter-urban competition, there are likely to be certain localities that will be slow to emerge from the entrenched stage of crisis. Examining the nature of emerging stability in the case studies, a key feature is the sustainability of balancing production and consumption over time. It is true to say that this balance of production and consumption is only just becoming entrenched, though the success of the redevelopments and their continued expansion is testament to entrenchment.

Overall, the conceptualisations of stability and crisis within this thesis are important in order to understand the nature of decline in traditional economies and the emergence of responses. Without understandings of stability and crisis, it is impossible to locate the redevelopments and other local change within a temporal framework that recognises both continuity and change. Furthermore, it is important to understand stability and crisis in order to be aware of the role of political and economic actors; without this level of understanding, all that is possible is a superficial analysis of observable changes and some comment on changing local cultures. Hence, notions of stability and crisis lead to an analysis of extra-local structures, with this preventing the abstraction of localities as well as emphasising the connectivity between the two case studies and underpinning a comparative analysis. The implications of this theoretical

stance for the research means rather than studying the redevelopments as products, the study of the redevelopments identifies processes that involve political ideologies, economic objectives and relations between various local actors. Consequently, the nature of the redevelopment is not the starting point for any analysis but the end of a process, with the process being the primary concern for the research. From this position, it is possible to argue that the nature of the redevelopment and how local people relate to the redevelopment is illustrative of much broader phenomena. It is with this contextualisation in mind that the redevelopment process forms an illustration of stability and crisis within political economy.

7.3, Contribution to knowledge

Having identified some conclusions from the research, the next task is to state how the research makes a contribution to knowledge.

7.3.1, Empirical contributions to knowledge

To date, there have been no in-depth case studies of the two redevelopments that cover background influences and local responses in the way provided by the case studies. Whilst some studies have focused on specific aspects of the redevelopments, such as local entrepreneurs or social equity, the level of abstraction detracts from the ‘bigger picture’. As such, this study makes a fundamental contribution to knowledge

by analysing broader social, economic and political relations in relation to each other and within a specific setting that can ultimately be generalised. Doing this makes a contribution to knowledge for two reasons; firstly, it provided empirical accounts of both structures and agents, and secondly, it contextualised regulation and accumulation within specific spatial and temporal terms - the West Midlands during the 1980s and 1990s.

Providing empirical studies of two regions experiencing local crises and how urban redevelopment strategies were used to regain stability, the case studies featured interviews with a range of local actors not previously interviewed to supply evidence of local experiences and the rationale behind decision-making that was not available from secondary sources. The case studies thereby cover a range of events such as local histories, political conflicts, community sentiments and economic development - significantly, these events are all linked together within the redevelopment process. Empirically, the thesis brings together a wide and diverse range of evidence covering the backgrounds and outcomes of urban redevelopment. As such, the thesis provides an original empirical contribution to knowledge through the interviews, which develop the sources of evidence already available by, firstly, illustrating an agential element within structures and secondly, identifying the rationale behind policies and events.

The case studies show the redevelopment process to be a dynamic phenomenon characterised by local conflicts and alliances, resulting in a local configuration of social, political and economic relations whereby common external influences are experienced and responded to in locally specific ways. Hence, while the two

redevelopments initially appear similar in terms of their backgrounds and influences and the seemingly generic move from production to consumption, the case studies show notable differences between the redevelopment processes.

7.3.2, Theoretical contributions to knowledge

Underpinning the main components of this originality, the thesis has provided detailed examinations of how local redevelopment strategies emerged and progressed within two increasingly ‘post-industrial’ localities – thereby enabling an analysis of similarities and differences rather than a sweeping generalisation of a single ‘post-industrial’ experience. Developing these similarities and differences, local events have been contextualised within spatial analyses of global and national political economies to show how local governance features both autonomy and overdetermination.

Aware of how this relates to the overall theoretical framework, regulation theory has been useful in its ability to explain relations between political and economic objectives in terms of regulation and accumulation. To further enrich the contribution of regulation theory as an analytical tool, the thesis has a complementary awareness of regime theory to account for the duality of generalisable changes as well as the more focused and pragmatic alliances and conflicts on a local level. Problematically, the redevelopment process features a combination of extra-local influences such as economic and political changes. Additionally, the redevelopment process is also

shaped by locally specific factors such as political conflicts, local opportunities, and even the influence of specific actors. Whilst it is correct to be aware of the potential for 'methodological ambiguity', it is also important to account for the dualities of local/extra-local and agency/structure. The result is an analysis of both the influences behind redevelopment strategies, as well as a study of how local responses were formulated.

The thesis thereby makes a two-fold contribution to theoretical knowledge; firstly, by using regulation theory to study the redevelopment process in the 'post-industrial' West Midlands, and secondly, through awareness of communities when analysing urban regimes.

Firstly, regulation theory is a useful theoretical tool for analysing the emergence of crises in advanced economies and the ability of capitalism to restabilise. The BSRA and Merry Hill are both products of these crises and illustrate attempts in the West Midlands to regain stability. Despite studying local governance and other urban issues associated with socio-economic and political change, regulation theory remains underused as a framework to theorise local redevelopment processes. As such, this thesis makes a theoretical contribution to knowledge by using regulation theory as a framework for studying the local redevelopment processes in the West Midlands following decline in traditional regional economies. Importantly, the theory identifies discrete economic and political forces within the redevelopment process that are both autonomous and determined, as well as recognising their ultimate synthesis and underpinning arguments that redevelopments are dialectics of politics and economy. The thesis develops this contribution to knowledge by placing an increased emphasis

on spatial boundaries. Although regulation theory features some informed discussion about the spatial dimension of regulation, this has been predominantly located within terms of an analysis of vertical hierarchies – i.e. global, national and local. While this has been a strong theme within this thesis, a further horizontal spatial analysis shows how locally specific redevelopment strategies illustrate discrete spatial boundaries to regulation and accumulation. Emphasising the relative autonomy of local actors, the regional diversity of accumulation portfolios, and the varied configurations of regulation, this thesis shows the concept of post-Fordist stability to be varied and spatially fragmented.

Secondly, the development of existing uses of urban regime theory also makes a contribution to knowledge. Traditionally, urban regime theory has focused on the position of local authorities and local business actors to determine, among other events, the redevelopment process within a structure of local governance. While this is an important factor in understanding the dynamics of local relations, it only accounts for the direct influence of those involved in decision-making. By understanding debates surrounding exclusion when examining urban regimes, the exclusion of communities from regimes is also seen to exert an influence in an indirect manner. Consequently, urban regimes are studied in the context of other local actors, arguing that in addition to managing conflict between businesses and local authorities, regimes also manage conflicting interests between those in the regime and those excluded.

Importantly, the aim of this thesis was never to synthesise regulation theory and regime theory into a single ‘super theory’, but instead to allow one to complement the

other by providing a holistic analysis of global, national and local phenomena. Using regulation theory to inform the use of regime theory, the thesis has developed regime theory by studying it in tandem with a study of local communities in order to provide a more comprehensive of those local structural relations affected by the redevelopments. Therefore, the thesis provides a dynamic account of backgrounds, processes, and outcomes.

Focusing on the concern regarding methodological ambiguity, studying of urban redevelopment has been a means of studying broad social, political and economic changes, with the thesis utilising two distinct theories to interrogate the diversity of influences and dynamics. On one hand, regulation theory explains economic change and socio-political responses in context of structural relations while opening the possibility to be aware of how this is carried out. On the other hand, regime theory offers an insight into the more pragmatic and agential relations that occur within local governance while opening the possibility to be aware of the backgrounds and outcomes of such events. Overall, this produces a rich picture of influences and responses that reflects the complexity of the redevelopment process.

As mentioned at the start of this thesis, the main objective however was not to debate theory for its own sake, but for it to provide a framework for comparing two urban redevelopments in a way that, firstly, went beyond the immediately visible and, secondly, did so in a way that identified how the case studies were examples of a process extending beyond the reaches of the West Midlands. As such, and bearing in mind the spatial and temporal aspects of the thesis, a main conclusion of this research concerns the process through which local actors formulated responses to distinct local

experiences of crisis. With evidence of these responses contained in the case studies, the thesis makes a contribution to knowledge by identifying a diversity of public-private relations and also including an analysis of how communities fit in this picture. Such an awareness of communities is predominantly missing from existing theorisations of regulation and regimes - with analyses of how agents and structures co-exist and relate to one another also missing from many accounts of urban change.

7.4, Areas of further research

Identifying areas of further research, I am keen for this thesis to be part of an ongoing analysis of redevelopment strategies in the West Midlands; especially considering the continuing rate of service sector based urban redevelopment in Birmingham and Dudley Borough. One of the important findings of the research has been that while the redevelopments themselves are static, the redevelopment process that lies behind them is a dynamic entity. During the course of this thesis, central government has changed, Birmingham's Longbridge car plant has faced further uncertainty, Merry Hill has become increasingly integrated with its surroundings, and the redevelopments have themselves inspired further service sector investment. With this in mind, future research needs to examine how, after significantly boosting local service sector bases, local accumulation and regulation has developed. In doing so, this raises two specific issues, the first concerning accumulation and the second concerning regulation.

Firstly, having begun the thesis by arguing that issues surrounding economic decline form a catalyst for urban redevelopment strategies, it is also evident that urban redevelopment is a self-perpetuating process. This has been the case in Dudley Borough to an extent, but more noticeably in Birmingham where redevelopment of large parts of the city centre has followed the success of the BSRA. Underpinning this trend of redevelopment is increased investment in construction, greater regional emphasis on the service sector, and further casualisation of employment in the growing numbers of offices, bars, cinemas and clubs. What is happening is that new regimes of accumulation, examined in this thesis, are becoming established and more significant within the local economy. As such, one potential research project could involve assessing the impact of this new regime of accumulation on local populations. Included in this would be an examination of the regenerative capacity of new investment, and implicitly, the extent to which people have access to the new economy, measured in terms of work, leisure, and so on. Based on initial findings within this thesis that many people are excluded from the redevelopments, arguably, the new regime of accumulation exists alongside a shrinking, but nonetheless surviving industrial regime of accumulation – based on the argument that there exist portfolios of accumulation. Consequently, the fundamental aim would be to investigate whether the emergence of new regimes of accumulation has resulted in dual cities by examining how different patterns of accumulation relate to one another.

Secondly, as new regimes of accumulation become increasingly important for local actors, so new patterns of social regulation have gained increased importance. The thesis argues that a significant site of social regulation has been local governance regimes, representing a dominant alliance of business and political interests. One area

of research concerns how the increased importance on their role manifests in the relationship between the two camps. Fundamentally, local governance regimes are a method of managing conflict and reaching compromise, research needs to investigate how the regimes continue to develop over time. In addition to examining regimes on a pragmatic level, it would be interesting to examine how their aims and objectives are also dynamic over time as new regimes of accumulation develop. Chapter Two provided a framework that identified significant areas of regulation, based on Goodwin and Painter's (1996) work. Further analysis of local social regulation could use these sites as a starting point to examine the dynamic nature of social regulation.

7.5, Concluding remarks

Over the last twenty years, the former industrial heartlands of Birmingham and Dudley Borough experienced some of their most significant socio-economic changes since industrialisation. The BSRA and Merry Hill are heavily implicated in these changes, being both responses to economic and political changes, as well as the bases for further far-reaching local changes.

One of the most fundamental changes concerns the economy, with the redevelopments being responsive to initial decline as well as a basis for developing new local economies. Although economic changes are significant in their own right, this thesis has examined the extensive implications for local businesses, politicians and communities.

Despite the redevelopments being responses to economic decline and justified in terms of their regenerative potential, they have failed to match the economic prosperity associated with industry and manufacturing. Furthermore, those people most affected by the initial decline of traditional economies are frequently the ones least likely to find employment in the redevelopments or take advantage of the new facilities. Arguably, by increasing social exclusion, the redevelopments have contributed greater inequality concerning opportunities and benefits.

This focus on local relations was significant because despite generic influences such as global economies and national political restructuring, localities responded to such common factors in unique ways. Local actors retained a degree of autonomy, showing that despite the significance of global and national factors, their importance lay in their synthesis with locally specific phenomena.

Overall, the BSRA and Merry Hill were important components in attempts to reinvent post-industrial cities and regions and create new post-Fordist stability. However, while the beneficiaries of this reinvention have been those with power to determine the redevelopment process, it is hard to see how local communities experiencing the brunt of industrial decline have benefited.

Appendix 1: Interview questions

This appendix details questions that were asked during the interviews. Not all of the questions were used in every interview, for example, some specifically relate to Merry Hill or the BSRA, whilst other questions were specifically directed at community, business, or local authority interviewees. However, this is a pool of questions from an interview schedule can be constructed to suit the interests, position and knowledge of the interviewee.

Generic questions

- What is your relationship to Merry Hill/the BSRA?
- What is your job and what responsibilities does that entail?
- In what ways do you feel Merry Hill/the BSRA has affected the local area?
- How would you define the relationship between Merry Hill/the BSRA and local communities?
- How has the surrounding area been affected by Merry Hill/the BSRA?
- What sorts of facilities would you like to see included at Merry Hill?
- Has the redevelopment changed your view of the local authority?
- How would you describe the environment within Merry Hill/the BSRA?
- Have you observed or experienced any gains within the local area since the arrival of Merry Hill/the BSRA?
- Does the construction of Merry Hill represent a town centre in its own right?
- Has redevelopment affected the locality in non-financial ways, such as the 'character' of the area?
- Is there anyone in particular with whom you feel I should speak?

Community questions

- Is there any feeling of alienation or exclusion from Merry Hill/the BSRA?
- Do you use the facilities at Merry Hill/the BSRA?

Business questions

- What avenues of economic regeneration were explored?

- Is there anything local authority/local business could have done to prevent local economic decline?
- What are the aims of Merry Hill/the BSRA?
- What has been the influence of urban policies?
- How would you typify the relationship between the public and private sectors?

Local authority questions

- What avenues of economic regeneration were explored?
- Is there anything local authority/local business could have done to prevent local economic decline?
- What are the aims of Merry Hill/the BSRA?
- What has been the influence of urban policies?
- How would you typify the relationship between the public and private sectors?

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